

FORWARD DEPLOYED NAVAL FORCES IN THE
REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES

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General Studies

by

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ABSTRACT

FORWARD DEPLOYED NAVAL FORCES IN THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES, by LCDR Frank P. Agcaoili, 94 pages.

Forward Deployed Naval Forces is not a new concept or strategy. In fact, it was utilized by other nations such as the British and French prior to World War II. The United States has also stationed naval forces in areas that were previously colonized such as the Philippines after the Spanish American War. Today the United States has naval ships stationed in forward bases in Japan, Spain, Italy, and Bahrain. The aim of this thesis paper is to study and analyze the stationing of a capable naval force in the Republic of the Philippines to provide a stabilizing presence in the South China Sea.

This research focuses on the strategic location of the Philippines and the surrounding islands that can provide an immediate access to the South China Sea. This thesis details the Republic of the Philippines and People's Republic of China territorial dispute in the South China Sea region and its potential effects in destabilizing government relations. This research is conducted to study and analyze the basing of a U.S. naval force in the Republic of the Philippines. The results should provide an overview of the social aspects, political climate, and military outcomes that influence basing in the region.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE THESIS APPROVAL PAGE	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
ACRONYMS	ix
ILLUSTRATIONS	x
TABLES	xi
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
Research Question	5
Assumptions.....	5
Limitations	6
Significance of Study.....	6
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW	7
Transforming U.S. Overseas Military Presence	7
Overseas Basing of U.S. Military Forces	8
Philippine Claims in the South China Sea: A Legal Analysis	8
Agreement between the U.S. Government and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines on Enhanced Defense Cooperation.....	9
International Security Advisory Board on Status of Forces Agreements	10
The Philippines Precedent and its Application to U.S. Bases in the Asia Pacific Region	11
U.S. Force Posture Strategy in the Asia-Pacific Region: An Independent Assessment.....	12
Challenges in the Asia-Pacific Theater for U.S. and Partner Nation Special Operations Forces	12
China-Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the South China Sea: Chinese Assertiveness and Southeast Asia Responses	13
China's Rise to Power: Revitalizing the Ties with the Republic of the Philippines to meet Twenty-first Century Security Interests.....	15
Conflict and Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region	16
Pacific Currents: The Responses of U.S. Allies and Security Partners in East Asia to China's Rise.....	17

The Potential Role of the Philippines in the U.S. Naval Forward Presence	17
The People's Liberation Army Navy: New Capabilities and Missions for the Twenty-first Century	18
Dangerous Ground: The Spratly Islands and U.S. Interests and Approaches	20
Quadrennial Defense Review, 2014	22
United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea	24
National Security Strategy, 2015	25
Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—China and Northeast Asia	26
Uncertain Waters: China's Emergence as a Maritime Power	27
Conclusion	28
 CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	 30
Variables in the South China Sea	30
Political, Military, Economic, Social, Information, Infrastructure	31
Relationship, Actors, Functions, Tensions	31
Case Study Method	32
The Six-Step Case Study Method	33
Research Bias	35
Conclusion	36
 CHAPTER 4 ANALYSIS	 37
Political, Military, Economic, Social, Information, and Infrastructure	37
United States	38
Political	39
Military	40
Economic	43
Social, Information, Infrastructure	44
Republic of the Philippines	44
Political	45
Military	47
Economic	49
Social, Information, Infrastructure	49
People's Republic of China	49
Political	51
Military	51
Economic	53
Social, Information, Infrastructure	54
Understanding U.S. Overseas Military Presence using Relationships, Actors, Functions, and Tensions	54
What is the Current Environment?	56
What Should the Environment Look Like?	57
What Is Preventing the Desired End State?	58
How Is the Desired End State Achieved?	59
Criteria for Evaluation	60

Freedom of Navigation	63
United States	63
Republic of the Philippines	64
China	65
Peace in the Region.....	65
United States	65
Republic of the Philippines	66
China	67
Resolve Regional Conflicts	67
United States	67
Republic of the Philippines	68
China	69
Strengthen Relations	69
United States	69
Republic of the Philippines	70
China	70
Risk Analysis	71
 CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	 72
Conclusions.....	72
Advantages and Disadvantages.....	72
Recommendations.....	75
Further Research	76
Summary	77
 GLOSSARY	 78
 BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	 79

ACRONYMS

AFP	Armed Forces of the Philippines
C4ISR	Command Control Communications and Computers Intelligence Surveillance and Reconnaissance
CONUS	Continental United States
EDCA	Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
FDNF	Forward Deployed Naval Forces
FON	Freedom of Navigation
LCS	Littoral Combat Ship
MDT	Mutual Defense Treaty
NSS	National Security Strategy
PLAN	People's Liberation Army Navy
PMESII	Political, Military, Economic, Social, Information, and Infrastructure
QDR	Quadrennial Defense Review
RAFT	Relationships, Actors, Functions, and Tensions
SCS	South China Sea
SLOC	Sea-Lines of Communication
SOFA	Status of Forces Agreement
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
VFA	Visiting Forces Agreement

ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
Figure 1. China Dashed Line and Boundary	15
Figure 2. China's Three Defensive Layers.....	20
Figure 3. Undiscovered Oil and Gas Resource in the South China Sea.....	22
Figure 4. Military Expenditure: Philippines Compared to China, in Constant (2014) USD Millions, 2007-2015.....	48

TABLES

	Page
Table 1. South China Sea Maritime Law Enforcement Comparison.....	19
Table 2. U.S. Defense Priorities.....	24
Table 3. Chinese Communist Party Three Enduring Goals	28
Table 4. U.S. Political, Military, Economic, Social, Information, Infrastructure	38
Table 5. Philippine Political, Military, Economic, Social, Information, Infrastructure	45
Table 6. Military Expenditure: Philippines Compared to China, in Constant (2014) USD Millions, 2007-2015.....	47
Table 7. China Political, Military, Economic, Social, Information, Infrastructure	50
Table 8. Islands Claimed by People’s Republic of China and Area for Dispute	52
Table 9. Relationship Actors Functions Tensions Matrix Part I.....	55
Table 10. Relationship Actors Functions Tensions Matrix Part II	56
Table 11. Criteria for Evaluation	63

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The employment of Forward Deployed Naval Forces (FDNF) will provide the United States with a constant presence in the Republic of the Philippines that is capable of responding to any crisis in the region. The ability to respond quickly in times of crisis, such as natural disaster, terrorism, hostilities, and disease outbreaks, demonstrates the significance and advantage that an FDNF delivers to a region. No other force in the region has demonstrated the capability provided by the United States in responding to an emergency. With a naval force available in a host nation, the United States can engage in military interoperability training and ultimately focus on creating a cohesive multi-national force capable of responding to a crisis in the region.

A U.S. naval force dedicated to a region will gain the benefit of having the support of naval forces from the Republic of the Philippines, by engaging with each naval force in the region and establishing cooperation with their neighboring government. Being aware of each nation's concerns and issues will better prepare the United States to provide the needed assistance, if requested. To be effective, the naval force has to be familiar with the region and the associated navigational waters, while noting any territorial disputes. Having a constant presence in a region will allow the United States to conduct community relations projects and build a positive reputation between the local community and U.S. naval personnel.

A U.S. naval presence can also serve as deterrence and prevent a crisis brought about by hostilities due to territorial water infringements or other neighboring territorial disputes. Instead of responding to a crisis, the United States can help a region by

maintaining Freedom of Navigation (FON), reiterating the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), and respecting each nation's established territorial seas. The United States is also obligated to support the Republic of the Philippines based on three documents: (1) the Mutual Defense Treaty (MDT); (2) the treatment of U.S. Armed Forces Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) with the Republic of the Philippines; and, (3) the Republic of the Philippines Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA). The United States and the Republic of the Philippines signed these agreements on August 30, 1951,¹ February 10, 1998,² and April 28, 2014,³ respectively.

This research study will examine the advantages and disadvantages for the United States through a review of current issues addressing the establishment of a FDNF in the Republic of the Philippines. The U.S. FDNF provides a strategic advantage in the South China Sea (SCS) because it can provide a balancing force that could ease the current situation in the region. An advantage of a U.S. naval force available in the Republic of the Philippines would include naval facilities to support other U.S. units conducting operations in the region. Currently, the Philippine public opinion of the United States is

¹ Lillian Goldman Law Library, "Mutual Defense Treaty between the United States and the Republic of the Philippines, August 30, 1951," Yale Law School, accessed December 9, 2015, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/phil001.asp.

² United States of America and Republic of the Philippines, *Agreement between the United States of America and the Philippines*, Quezon City, Philippines, April 28, 2014, U.S. Department of State, accessed December 9, 2015, <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/244799.pdf>.

³ Ibid.

relatively positive based on recent humanitarian assistance provided by the U.S. military in response to the devastation from super typhoon Haiyan.⁴

A disadvantage for the United States is the Philippine reaction to criminal activities committed by U.S. service members. To mitigate this disadvantage the United States must quickly take legal action against service members who commit criminal acts. The risk to the United States will be loss of support from the government of the Philippines and possibly lead to a termination of the mutual defense agreement. An example of potential loss of Philippine support occurred during a 2014 port visit by a U.S. Amphibious Ready Group in the Republic of the Philippines, where a U.S. service member killed a transgender person. This criminal act prompted an argument from critics in the Philippines towards the reduction of support from the Republic of the Philippine government and local population for the presence of a U.S. naval force in the region.⁵ These types of incidents, although covered under the VFA between the United States and the Republic of the Philippines, have the potential to be a disadvantage to U.S. efforts in the region.

Another disadvantage for the United States is the public opinion concerning the appearance of criminal activity associated with human trafficking around a military installation. To mitigate this disadvantage the United States has a strict policy that regards human trafficking as a criminal offense and will punish service members

⁴ John Kerry, "John Kerry, Secretary of State, Remarks at USAID Tacloban, Tacloban, Philippines, December 18, 2013," U.S. Department of State, accessed April 5, 2016, <http://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2013/12/218869.htm>.

⁵ Eliza Gray, "U.S. Marine Suspected in Killing of Transgender Woman in Philippines," *Time Magazine*, October 14, 2014, accessed April 5, 2016, <http://time.com/3507256/marine-transgender-killing-philippines/>.

involved in human trafficking activities.⁶ The issue of human trafficking may be used as part of an argument by individuals who may not support basing of U.S. forces in the Philippines. Maintaining a positive public opinion will strengthen relations between the United States and the Republic of the Philippines.

With the stationing of naval vessels in the Republic of the Philippines, a risk regarding environmental effects may arise based on the environmental cleanup conducted at Subic Bay after the United States returned the naval base to the Republic of the Philippines.⁷ Inadvertent contamination of known fishing environments will not only devastate a fishing community, but drastically affect relations with the Republic of the Philippines.⁸ To mitigate the risk of contaminating the environment the United States must be aware and maintain strict adherence to environmental regulations.

By being aware of, and concerned with, the Philippine political issues, the United States can take a more constructive approach and make decisions that will prevent friction between both countries. Although U.S. and Philippine agreements specifically fall under a mutual defense effort, the United States has stated that it will not side with

⁶ Secretary of State, *Trafficking in Persons Report* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, July 2015), accessed April 5, 2016, <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/245365.pdf>.

⁷ Travis J. Tritten, "Decades Later, U.S. Military Pollution in Philippines Linked to Deaths," *Stars and Stripes*, February 2, 2010, accessed May 2, 2016, <http://www.stripes.com/news/decades-later-u-s-military-pollution-in-philippines-linked-to-deaths-1.98570>.

⁸ Michael I. Quinn, "Pollution-control Regimes for U.S. Navy Vessels: From Battleship Gray to Environmental Green," Master's thesis, University of Washington School of Law, Seattle, WA, Spring 1994, accessed April 5, 2016, <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a283938.pdf>.

any country in that country's efforts to enforce territorial claims.⁹ In the case of the MDT signed on August 30, 1951 between the Republic of the Philippines and the United States, the United States will only provide aid in the form of mutual defense, to include internal defense from Al-Qaeda affiliated groups like the Moro Islamic Liberation Front.

Research Question

This research study will ask the following two questions: (1) what are the advantages and disadvantages for the United States in establishing a FDNF in the Republic of the Philippines; and (2) what are the advantages and disadvantages for the Philippines and China with establishment of a U.S. FDNF in the Philippines? The research questions are important because they will provide data to determine the outcome of establishing a FDNF in the Philippines. The 2014 *Quadrennial Defense Review* (QDR) document states the United States has identified paradigms, including potentially positioning additional FDNF in critical areas, and deploying new combinations of ships, aviation assets, regionally aligned or rotational ground forces, and crisis response forces, all with the intention of maximizing effects while minimizing cost.¹⁰

Assumptions

This study assumes that the United States will continue to rebalance its naval force with an emphasis on boosting maritime assets into the Asia-Pacific region. It also

⁹ Mark E. Rosen, *Philippine Claims in the South China Sea: A Legal Analysis*, CNA Occasional Paper (Washington, DC: Center for Naval Analyses, August 2014), accessed April 5, 2016, https://www.cna.org/CNA_files/PDF/IOP-2014-U-008435.pdf.

¹⁰ Secretary of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review* (Washington, DC: Department of Defense, 2014), VI.

assumes the current view of the Asia-Pacific will continue to be a vital source of economic stability for the United States and the preservation of peace and continued stability in the area would ensure economic security for the United States. These assumptions are from the U.S. priorities mention in the defense strategic guidance and in the 2014 QDR.

Limitations

The focus of this research study deals with the basing of a U.S. FDNF in the Republic of the Philippines. While there are numerous countries in the region, this research study only focuses on two key countries in the area, namely the Republic of the Philippines and the People's Republic of China.

Significance of Study

The results of this research study will provide the advantages and disadvantages for the United States, Republic of the Philippines, and China in establishing a U.S. FDNF based in the Philippines. The data compiled will provide an assessment of the naval force structure in the SCS region and the ability of U.S. naval forces to respond during a crisis. The results may help to improve military effectiveness or identify any area requiring additional military assets.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Since World War II, a FDNF is a concept that is present in the Pacific. FDNF is a relevant asset in empowering the United States to deter or to respond quickly to a crisis in the Pacific. This study focuses on two research questions: (1) what are the advantages and disadvantages for the United States in establishing a FDNF in the Republic of the Philippines; and (2) what are the advantages and disadvantages for the Philippines and China with establishment of a U.S. FDNF in the Philippines? While U.S. naval assets are in Japan and Singapore, it is still worthwhile to analyze assigning a FDNF to the Republic of the Philippines because of the instability in the SCS. The following data presents relevant information to consider in forming an analysis on the topic of renewing an FDNF in the Republic of the Philippines.

Transforming U.S. Overseas Military Presence

A report from the Institute of Defense Analyses, titled *Transforming U.S. Overseas Military Presence: Evidence and Options for DoD Volume I: Main Report*, provides information regarding U.S. overseas military presence, to include key military and security objectives.¹¹ The data provides arguments about the value and benefits of a military presence. To give the reader an overall context on the topic, the researcher reviews arguments about the value of presence and hypotheses. This report provides a

¹¹ James S. Thomason, *Transforming US Overseas Military Presence: Evidence and Options for DoD Volume I: Main Report* (Alexandria, VA: Institute for Defense Analyses, July 2002), accessed April 5, 2016, <http://www.comw.org/qdr/fulltext/0207thomason.pdf>, I-3.

brief history of the U.S. global posture and goes into detail regarding current global postures throughout the world. The report presents information on strategic considerations, benefits, and contingency responses based on an overseas posture.

Overseas Basing of U.S. Military Forces

Overseas Basing of U.S. Military Forces: An Assessment of Relative Costs and Strategic Benefits, Risk of Overseas Posture provides a brief history of the U.S. global posture and goes into detail regarding current global postures throughout the world. The report presents information on strategic considerations, benefits, and contingency responses based on an overseas posture. Included in the report is a risk of investing in facilities overseas that highlights political, violent extremists, and even changing operational needs. With respect to a FDNF, the report notes that the U.S. continues to rotate military forces as part of the 2002 Operation Enduring Freedom-Philippines mission.¹² The report also includes an assessment of the maintenance, training cycle, and lifespan of naval assets associated with increasing forward presence by extending FDNF.

Philippine Claims in the South China Sea: A Legal Analysis

Philippine Claims in the South China Sea: A Legal Analysis, provides data for analysis of the territorial legal argument from the People's Republic of China and the Republic of the Philippines.¹³ This document is important to the study of stationing a U.S. FDNF in the Republic of the Philippines because of the MDT of 1951 between the

¹² Michael J. Lostumbo, *Overseas Basing of U.S. Military Forces: An Assessment of Relative Costs and Strategic Benefits, Risk of Overseas Posture* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, National Defense Research Institute, 2013), 25.

¹³ Rosen.

United States and the Republic of the Philippines. The treaties between the United States and the Philippines may potentially create tension based on the disputes between the Philippines and China. The document highlights the disputed island west of the Philippines and provides a legal history of the Philippine archipelago. Included is information on the positional analysis between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of the Philippines, to include a discussion of sovereignty over the Scarborough Shoals.¹⁴

Agreement between the U.S. Government and the Government of the
Republic of the Philippines on Enhanced Defense Cooperation

The United States and the government of the Republic of the Philippines signed the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement on April 28, 2014. The agreement references the original agreement between both countries conducted by the Mutual Defense Board on May 15, 1958. Included in the reference is the agreement by the Security Engagement Board conducted on April 11 and 12, 2006. Both these references provide a historical account stating that the United States and the Republic of the Philippines have had a long-term understanding that both countries will provide mutual aid in the event of a conflict in the Asia-Pacific region.

The goal of the EDCA is to improve the military force interoperability between the United States and the Republic of the Philippines. The EDCA addresses short-term maritime capabilities gaps, promotes long-term modernization, and maintains and develops additional maritime security, maritime domain awareness, and humanitarian

¹⁴ Rosen.

assistance and disaster relief capabilities.¹⁵ This agreement is important to this research because of the statements that the United States may undertake various activities, such as security cooperation exercises, joint and combined training activities, humanitarian assistance and disaster relief activities, and other activities, as may be agreed upon by the Republic of the Philippines and the United States.¹⁶ It is important to understand the Philippines will retain ownership of basing locations for U.S. forces agreed upon, along with any infrastructure that supports U.S. forces. This is a significant agreement due to the loss of infrastructure investment in the event that the United States no longer requires the bases.

International Security Advisory Board on Status of Forces Agreements

The International Security Advisory Board provided a report on the strategies and challenges with the negotiation of a status of forces agreement. The report is relevant to the study of establishing an FDNF in the Philippines due to the requirement of having a Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) in place prior to U.S. personnel arriving.¹⁷ The SOFA agreement between the United States and the Republic of the Philippines provides protection status for U.S. personnel present in the Philippines, as well as protection for Philippine forces present in the United States. Such agreements between governments help solidify relationships between both nations. The Philippines is one out of two

¹⁵ United States of America and Republic of the Philippines, *Agreement Between the United States of America and the Philippines*, 2.

¹⁶ Ibid., 3.

¹⁷ Chairman, International Security Advisory Board, *Report on Status of Forces Agreements* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, January 16, 2015), accessed April 20, 2016, <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/236456.pdf>, 1.

countries with reciprocity included in the SOFA agreement (Israel is the other country).¹⁸ The report also states that in the Pacific Command area of responsibility the United States has SOFA agreements with twelve countries, including the Philippines.¹⁹ These agreements provide the United States with a flexible option when moving forces in the region, especially with established agreements offering protection to U.S. personnel.

The Philippines Precedent and its Application to U.S. Bases in the Asia Pacific Region

This paper is important to this research study as it points out possible disadvantages for the United States in establishing a FDNF in the Republic of the Philippines. This paper provides a short historical background between the U.S. and the Republic of the Philippines. The information provides a sociological view of America's relations with the Republic of the Philippines starting with the Spanish-American War of 1898 to the end of World War II and independence from the United States.²⁰ The paper, by Taehee Kim, covers public sentiment and anti-Americanism within the Philippine population and the impact on the environment caused by a lack of regulations regarding the operation of the former U.S. bases. The paper provides a historical assessment of the previous naval base in Subic Bay and U.S. airbase in Clark Air Field. Included in this

¹⁸ Chairman, International Security Advisory Board, *Report on Status of Forces Agreements*, 6.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 44.

²⁰ Taehee Kim, "The Philippines Precedent and its Application to US Bases in Japan and the ROK," in *Task Force 2015: Rethinking United States Military Bases in East Asia*, edited by Bridget Chan and Jack Truitt (Seattle, WA: University of Washington, 2015), 253.

paper is a short background on the Philippines endorsement of U.S. forces operating temporarily in the Philippines.

U.S. Force Posture Strategy in the Asia-Pacific Region: An Independent Assessment

This report provides a discussion of a proposal to rebalance U.S. naval forces on the east and west coast of the United States in favor of the Asia-Pacific region. The additional forces in the Pacific area of responsibility will realign forces and support U.S. treaty alliance with the Republic of the Philippines.²¹ The report provides continued discussion on the endorsement of the Philippine government regarding the deployment of U.S. Special Operations forces to support Philippine anti-terrorist efforts. Military interoperability exercises, like the annual bilateral Balikatan exercises, illustrate the improvement in maritime domain awareness and cyberspace defense posture.²² The report also provides information on the U.S. pledge for foreign military financing and provision of military equipment.

Challenges in the Asia-Pacific Theater for U.S. and Partner Nation Special Operations Forces

This report by the Joint Special Operations University provides sources for potential conflict in the Asia-Pacific Theater and an assessment of U.S. and Chinese

²¹ David J. Berteau and Michael J. Green, *U.S. Force Posture Strategy in the Asia Pacific Region: An Independent Assessment* (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2012), accessed April 20, 2016, http://csis.org/files/publication/120814_FINAL_PACOM_optimized.pdf.

²² Evan S. Medeiros, *Pacific Currents The Responses of U.S. Allies and Security Partners in East Asia to China's Rise* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Center for Asia-Pacific Policy, 2008), 252.

military strengths and weaknesses. This report is relevant to the topic of a U.S. FDNF in the Republic of the Philippines because it will highlight the maritime gap that needs addressing to provide a capable force to meet future operational requirements. This report also supports the point that the Philippines is in the center of a region, which offers a strategic advantage due to its location to conduct naval operations. Provided in the report are assessments on the military capability in the Asia-Pacific region and further discussion about the hypothetical war. To provide an overall context for the situation in the region this report discusses non-military activity, such as sea-borne trade.²³ The report concludes with a review on improving deterrence to meet future challenges in the theater.

China-Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the South China Sea:
Chinese Assertiveness and Southeast Asia Responses

This report highlights China's assertiveness in its territorial claims in the SCS. China, in its attempt to expand, has leveraged a pre-UNCLOS claim known as the Nine-dash line that is depicted in a Chinese map from 1947 to support sovereignty claims.²⁴ With China's aggressiveness in claiming territory in the SCS, it has presented a new version of the Nine-dash line, which evolved into the Ten-dash line as seen in figure 1. The report also reviews China's political and military developments in the region and its

²³ Robert Haddick, *Challenges in the Asia-Pacific Theater for U.S. and Partner Nation Special Operations Forces, U.S. Goals and Interest in East and Southeast Asia* (MacDill Air Force Base, FL: The JSOU Press, 2014), 17.

²⁴ Office of Ocean and Polar Affairs, Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs, Limits in the Seas, No. 143, *China: Maritime Claims in the South China Sea* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, December 5, 2014), accessed June 8, 2016, <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/234936.pdf>.

effects on the Republic of the Philippines. The report provides information regarding the reaction and responses by the Philippine government to China's territorial claims. This report is relevant to the stationing of U.S. FDNF in the Republic of the Philippines because of the territorial disputes that could potentially lead to hostilities between China and the Philippines. Activities such as the launching of a mega drilling platform prove that China is starting to exploit resources while a resolution to the territorial dispute is ongoing and not yet in place.²⁵ This is a disadvantage to China's regional neighbors, like the Philippines, who are attempting to make legal claims and find a territorial resolution via the United Nations. The report also notes that the Republic of the Philippines has commenced external defense improvement, while opening an additional dialog with the United States to gain military support in the region. The report concludes with an excerpt from the Philippine president's visit to China in which he defers the territorial dispute to a more peaceful means of negotiation.

²⁵ Carlyle A. Thayer, "China-ASEAN and the South China Sea: Chinese Assertiveness and Southeast Asian Responses" (Paper to International Conference on Major and Policy Issues in the South China Sea: European and American Perspectives, Institute of European and American Studies and Center for Asia-Pacific Studies, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, October 6-9, 2011).



Figure 1. China Dashed Line and Boundary

Source: Office of Ocean and Polar Affairs, Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs, Limits in the Seas, No. 143, *China: Maritime Claims in the South China Sea* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, December 5, 2014), accessed June 8, 2016, <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/234936.pdf>, 4.

China's Rise to Power: Revitalizing the Ties with the Republic of the Philippines to meet Twenty-first Century Security Interests

This report is relevant to the stationing of U.S. FDNF in the Republic of the Philippines because of the analysis pertaining to China's anti-access strategies that will

influence FON in the region.²⁶ The report also highlights a common trend that identifies the Philippines as a strategic location to conduct naval operations. The geographic location is a military interest for both China and the United States, recognizing the significance of the Philippines in the region. The report provides an analysis of the forces in the region and the importance of supporting a balancing force. The Philippines ongoing internal security concerns prompted an alliance with the United States in combating the Global War on Terrorism. This renewed military cooperation is paving the way for further partnership between the United States and the Republic of the Philippines.

Conflict and Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region

This report provides an analytical framework regarding the Asia-Pacific region. This includes an overview of the domestic, political, and social stability and its effects on conflict and cooperation. This report is significant to the U.S. FDNF in the Philippines because it presents a context on the defense spending and military capabilities of the countries in the region. The report discusses the national and transnational plans, along with military doctrines and strategies on the use of force. The report also adds bilateral and multilateral relationship variables in the region and future security conditions. The report also identifies five possible security environments (Status quo Redux, Asia-Pacific Cold War, Pacific Asia-Pacific, Asian Hot Wars, and Challenged Region) within the next

²⁶ Keith H. Topel, "China's Rise to Power: Revitalizing the Ties with the Republic of the Philippines to Meet 21st Century Security Interests" (Master's thesis, U.S. Marine Corps Command and Staff College, Marine Corps University, Quantico, VA, 2009), 6.

twenty-five years.²⁷ The report concludes with the implications of current policies and proposed diplomatic recommendations.

Pacific Currents: The Responses of U.S. Allies and
Security Partners in East Asia to China's Rise

This report provides a view of the Philippines and its national condition, to include domestic politics and public opinion. It provides information regarding economic responses with China and other foreign investments. Included is a context assessment of relations with the United States to include defense policy responses. The report presents a conclusion and implications for the United States, along with key findings and future responses. The report suggests that barring a major shock to the regional status quo, economic and political ties between the Philippines and China will continue to expand, as will Philippine ties with the United States.²⁸

The Potential Role of the Philippines in the
U.S. Naval Forward Presence

The paper highlights the 2001 QDR stating the importance of the Asia-Pacific region to the United States. The paper also provides an early 2001 view of the role a U.S. FDNF presence in the Philippines. Although the paper has some outdated information, such as the restriction of a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier in Japan, it is still important

²⁷ Michael D. Swaine, *Conflict and Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region a Strategic Net Assessment* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2015), 167.

²⁸ Medeiros, 98.

because it provides a documented need for a U.S. FDNF based in the Philippines.²⁹ This paper is still relevant and shows a historical background on U.S.-Philippine relations and concerns during that period. The paper highlights the Philippines as being strategically located along the Sea-Lanes of Communication (SLOC) between the United States and Asia.³⁰ This SLOC is still significant today as the United States considers the SCS a vital area that needs to remain open for commercial maritime traffic.

The People's Liberation Army Navy: New Capabilities
and Missions for the Twenty-first Century

This report is an assessment of the People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) and its naval strategy and mission. Included in the report are illustrations and information on equipment, training, exercises, and leadership structure, used in the building of a modern navy. The data presented in table 1 demonstrates the overwhelming maritime force possessed by China in its attempt to influence its territorial claims in the region.³¹ Included in the report is China's military defensive layer as seen in figure 2, which encompasses the SCS and the majority of the Philippine Islands. The first defensive layer from the coastline is 540-1,000 nautical miles and employs anti-ship ballistic missiles and submarines; the second defensive layer is 270-540 nautical miles and employs aircraft

²⁹ Thomas J. Garcia, "The Potential Role of the Philippines in U.S. Naval Forward Presence" (Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 2001), 27.

³⁰ Garcia, 28.

³¹ Office of Naval Intelligence, *The PLA Navy New Capabilities and Missions for the 21st Century* (Washington, DC: Office of Naval Intelligence), accessed April 20, 2016, http://www.oni.navy.mil/Portals/12/Intel%20agencies/china_Media/2015_PLA_NAVY_PUB_Print.pdf?ver=2015-12-02-081247-687.

and submarines; the third defensive layer starts at China's coast, extends to 270 nautical miles, and employs ships, aircraft, submarines, and coastal defense weapons.³²

Table 1. South China Sea Maritime Law Enforcement Comparison

Country	Large Vessels	Small Vessels	Total Vessels
China	95	110	205
Philippines	0	4	4

Source: Office of Naval Intelligence, *The PLA Navy New Capabilities and Missions for the 21st Century* (Washington, DC: Office of Naval Intelligence), 45, accessed April 20, 2016, http://www.oni.navy.mil/Portals/12/Intel%20agencies/china_Media/2015_PLA_NAVY_PUB_Print.pdf?ver=2015-12-02-081247-687.

³² Ibid., 8.

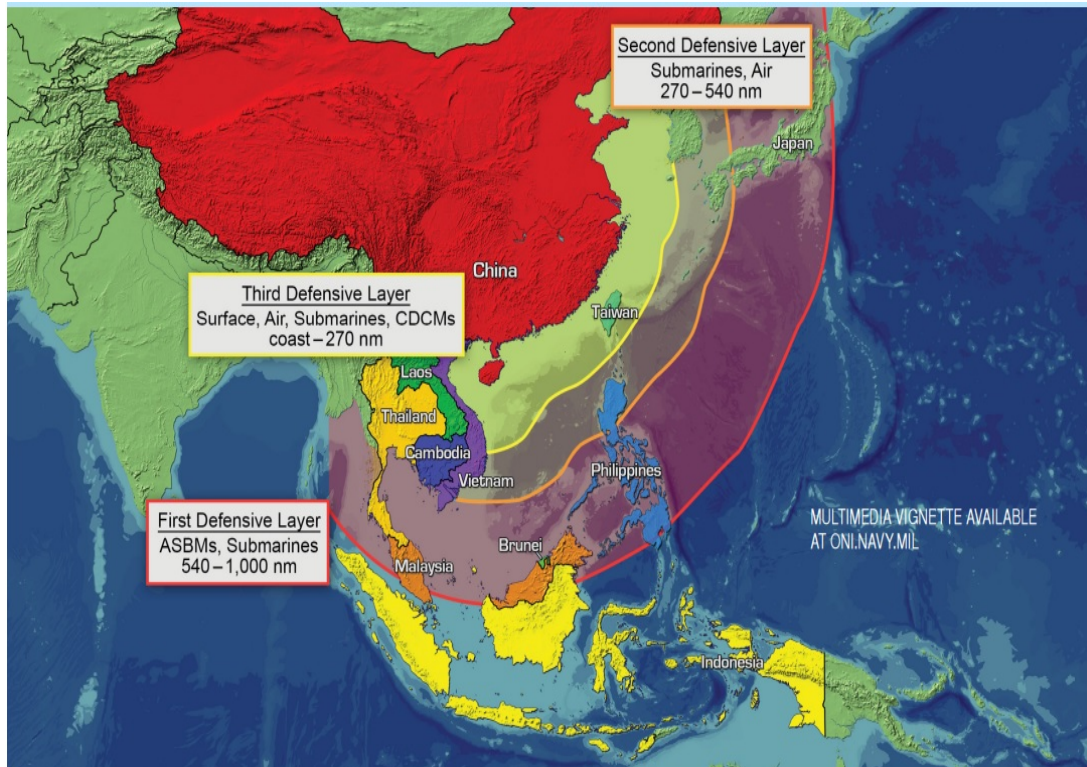


Figure 2. China's Three Defensive Layers

Source: Office of Naval Intelligence, *The PLA Navy New Capabilities and Missions for the 21st Century* (Washington, DC: Office of Naval Intelligence), 8, accessed April 20, 2016, http://www.oni.navy.mil/Portals/12/Intel%20agencies/china_Media/2015_PLA_NAVY_PUB_Print.pdf?ver=2015-12-02-081247-687.

Dangerous Ground: The Spratly Islands and U.S. Interests and Approaches

This report is an analysis of the United States interests and approaches toward the disputed Spratly Islands. The Spratly Islands are located in the SCS, with the closest country being the Republic of the Philippines at 200 nautical miles. China is the farthest at 800 nautical miles between mainland China and the Spratly Islands.³³ The report also

³³ Clarence J. Bouchat, *Dangerous Ground: The Spratly Islands and U.S. interest and approaches* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, December 2013), 4.

covers China's interest in the Spratly Islands and other areas of the SCS. Below is a quote from the first president of the Republic of China, Sun Yat-sen, which provides context to China's persistence in the SCS:

Whoever dominates the sea dominates world trade; whoever dominates world trade dominates the Golconda [a location of great wealth]; whoever dominates the Golconda dominates the world . . . Boost the shipping industry to expand the navy, let our national navy keep pace with the big powers and get into the rank of first-class powers. The only way for China to become prosperous is to develop its military arms.³⁴

The SCS, to include the Spratly Islands, has been referred to as the “second Persian Gulf” or “hydrocarbons Eldorado” due to its potential for energy resources.³⁵ The data in figure 3 shows the 2012 amount of undiscovered oil and natural gas in the SCS. Estimates conducted in 2013 by the U.S. Energy Information Administration put the potential for undiscovered oil between .8 and 5.4 billion barrels and 7 to 55 trillion cubic feet for natural gas, while the People's Republic of China's Chinese National Offshore Oil Company estimates 125 billion barrels of oil and 500 trillion cubic feet of gas.³⁶ Maintaining access to the SCS enables FON for countries in the region, to include other states that transit the area. It is significant to note that the United States has had a Military Maritime Consultative Agreement with China since 1998.³⁷ This agreement between the U.S. and China prevents incidents between the two countries' military forces. This is similar to the 1972 U.S.-Soviet Union Incidents at Sea Agreement.

³⁴ Ibid., 1.

³⁵ Ibid., 4.

³⁶ Ibid., 5.

³⁷ Ibid., 72-73.

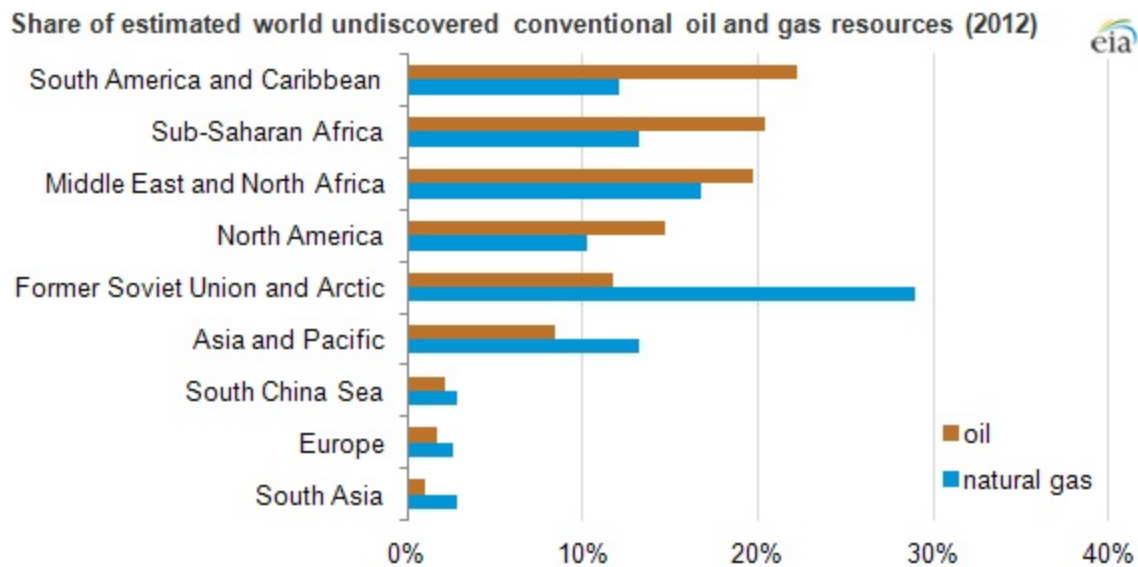


Figure 3. Undiscovered Oil and Gas Resource in the South China Sea

Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration, “Contested areas of South China Sea likely have few conventional oil and gas resources,” U.S. Department of Energy, April 3, 2013, accessed May 17, 2016, <http://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.cfm?id=10651>.

Quadrennial Defense Review, 2014

The QDR, in conjunction with the *National Security Strategy* (NSS) and *Defense Strategic Guidance*, provides a listing of defense priorities for the armed forces of the United States. Specifically mentioned in the QDR is the priority of rebalancing to the Asia-Pacific region, which is number one on the list of U.S. defense priorities (see table 2).³⁸ The priority of rebalancing to the Asia-Pacific region is important to the United States and benefits the rest of the countries in the region by preserving peace and stability in this area. The rebalancing also includes the investments towards Command Control

³⁸ Secretary of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review*, 11.

Communications and Computers Intelligence Surveillance and Reconnaissance (C4ISR) systems that are operationally responsive and effective in highly contested environments.³⁹ The QDR identifies the potential of positioning additional FDNF in the region to maximize efficiency and minimize cost to the United States.⁴⁰ The positioning of an FDNF in the region is important for the United States because of the need to cut defense spending brought about by sequestration.⁴¹ With cost reduction, it is important that allied and partner nations are aware of the U.S. defense budget constraints. Allied and partner nations must assume a greater role in preserving peace in the region. The reduction of U.S. capability in the region would significantly challenge the armed forces' ability to respond to strategic surprises, particularly those requiring a large number of modern forces.⁴² The QDR projects that by the year 2020, 60 percent of U.S. Navy assets, such as destroyers and amphibious ships, will be in the Pacific with increased naval presence in Japan and Singapore.⁴³

³⁹ Ibid., XI.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 12.

⁴¹ Ibid., 15.

⁴² Ibid., 20.

⁴³ Ibid., 56.

Table 2. U.S. Defense Priorities

1	Rebalancing to the Asia-Pacific region to preserve peace and stability in the region
2	Maintaining a strong commitment to security and stability in Europe and the Middle East
3	Sustaining a global approach to countering violent extremist and terrorist threats, with an emphasis on the Middle East and Africa
4	Continuing to protect and prioritize key investments in technology while our force overall grow smaller and leaner
5	Invigorating efforts to build innovative partnerships and strengthen key alliance and partnerships

Source: Secretary of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review* (Washington, DC: Department of Defense, 2014), 11.

United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea

UNCLOS is an international treaty and agreement between states on the governance of the sea. This agreement is recognized as an important contribution of the United Nations to the maintenance of peace, justice, and progress for all peoples of the world.⁴⁴ The treaty provides a standard definition of terms used in the maritime domain. The context of the law uses articles that define and cover the legal status of territorial sea, to include the air space over the associated territorial sea. UNCLOS is important in defining the terms associated with the disputed areas in the SCS. Included are guidelines to assist in making the determination of what constitutes as territorial waters based on a state's baseline. It is also important for the deployment of naval forces to define what constitutes a warship and the immunities associated with vessels used for non-

⁴⁴ Secretary-General, United Nations, "Agreement relating to the Implementation of Part XI of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea of December 10, 1982," United Nations, accessed April 23, 2016, http://www.un.org/Depts/los/convention_agreements/text/unclos/closindxAgree.htm.

commercial purposes.⁴⁵ Other definitions that are relevant to the SCS include: Article 33, Duties during transit passage; Article 40, Exclusive economic zone; Article 41, Artificial islands; Article 53, Freedom of the high seas; and Article 59, Basis for resolution of conflicts. UNCLOS will remain relevant as states in the SCS continue to seek resolutions to the disputed areas.

National Security Strategy, 2015

The United States published the NSS in February 2015. The NSS provides guidance to address the U.S. global challenges and sets a path to attain set national priorities. The NSS identifies challenges, such as cyber security, attack on the U.S. homeland, threats against U.S. citizens abroad, global economic crisis, weapons of mass destruction, global infectious disease outbreaks, climate change, and promotion of peace and security.⁴⁶ Included in the NSS is the promotion of a constructive relationship with China, while monitoring China's military modernization, remaining alert, and seeking ways to reduce the risk of misunderstanding between the military forces.⁴⁷ The United States must build this relationship with China to prevent any conflict or potential escalation on the use of force around the disputed territory in the SCS. The NSS also addresses the strength of U.S. national defense by maintaining a military edge and readiness in the Asia-Pacific region. It is critical that a forward presence must be

⁴⁵ Secretary-General, United Nations, Article 32, *United Nations Convention on the Law of the Seas*, United Nations, 1982, accessed April 23, 2016, http://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/unclos/unclos_e.pdf.

⁴⁶ U.S. President, *National Security Strategy* (Washington, DC: The White House, 2015), 2.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.

available to project power globally and to defeat and deny aggression.⁴⁸ The Asia-Pacific region is vital to the United States, making it important to maintain FON in the SCS. The United States will remain a Pacific Power and projects that in the next five years nearly half of all growth outside the U.S. will come from Asia.⁴⁹

Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—China and Northeast Asia

This security assessment conducted by *Jane's Sentinel* is composed of twenty articles covering different topics. The articles provide an assessment on China's political leadership, internal and external affairs, geography and demography, and the status of the armed forces. Included in the assessment is an overview of China's effort to modernize its military capability and the implementation of new systems, such as the multilayered integrated air defense systems consisting of weapons, radars, and C4ISR platforms.⁵⁰ Included in the assessment is the development and innovation of the anti-ship ballistic missile that has a 1,500-kilometer range that can target U.S. Navy aircraft carriers.⁵¹ The assessment also provides information regarding the issues that the Chinese Communist Party is dealing with, such as corruption within the government and territorial disputes with neighboring countries. The assessment specifically addresses the disputes between China and the Philippines. Lastly, this assessment also provides a detailed view of the maritime assets employed by the PLAN.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 8.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 24.

⁵⁰ IHS, "Procurement, The drive to modernize," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment-China and Northeast Asia*, article 20 (September 30, 2015): 7.

⁵¹ Ibid., 17.

Uncertain Waters: China's Emergence as a Maritime Power

The report on China's emergence as a maritime power conducted by the Center for Naval Analyses China Studies provides an overview of China's new role as it increases its maritime presence in the Asia-Pacific region. The report provides a historical context and a research study on the issuance of the new Chinese Military Strategic Guidelines in 1993. The report provides an overview of the PLAN from its founding and evolution to meet today's maritime domain requirements.⁵² The report introduces China's concerns and interests in the maritime domain and its leaders' view and approach to maintaining national security, economic, political, and diplomacy.⁵³ The report provides an analysis of China's security interests and its concept of "offshore active defense" and the expansion of China's interests leading to the "distant seas" operations.⁵⁴ The report includes the three enduring goals of the Chinese Communist Party listed in table 3, which the government pursues and has shaped national security objectives for China.

⁵² Ibid., 10-11.

⁵³ Ibid., 19.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 28.

Table 3. Chinese Communist Party Three Enduring Goals

1	Maintaining the rule of the Communist Party	Which has been the most important goal since the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949
2	Defending sovereignty and territorial integrity	Which has also been a key goal since 1949
3	Promoting national economic development	Which has been a key goal since 1979

Source: Thomas J. Bickford, with Heidi Holz, and Frederic Vellucci Jr., *Uncertain Waters: Thinking about China's Emergence as a Maritime Power* (Arlington, VA: Center for Naval Analysis and Solutions, September 2011), 33.

Conclusion

The literature reviewed in chapter 2 highlights information that would show the advantages and disadvantages for the United States in establishing a FDNF in the Republic of the Philippines. Although multiple research papers are outdated, they share the theme of the importance of having a ready response maritime force capable of conducting a short notice naval operation. This research study is relevant because it highlights the need for a naval presence in the Philippines. Other research studies show a trend in identifying the importance of having a naval force in the Asia-Pacific region. Furthermore, naval military research and development have produced new strategies and employment of assets such as unmanned aerial vehicles and Littoral Combat Ships (LCS). Threats such as cyber warfare are changing the dynamics of combat, which highlight the need for having a naval presence on station ready to respond. The published

journals and research provide information that shows the advantages and disadvantages for the United States in establishing a FDNF in the Republic of the Philippines.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter will present the research methodology used to analyze the data collected from the references in the literature review. The reference material presents a substantial amount of information to answer the two research questions: (1) what are the advantages and disadvantages for the United States in establishing a FDNF in the Republic of the Philippines?; (2) what are the advantages and disadvantages for the Philippines and China with establishment of a U.S. FDNF in the Philippines? To assist in presenting the research material, the Political, Military, Economic, Social, Information, and Infrastructure (PMESII) evaluation model will be utilized. Along with PMESII, the research study will compile data from chapter 2 that describes the environment for use with a second evaluation model: Relationships, Actors, Functions, and Tensions (RAFT). Finally the analysis will conclude with a six-step case study method with evaluation criteria to determine the advantages and disadvantages of a U.S. FDNF in the Philippines.

Variables in the South China Sea

In the SCS region, it is important to examine the key states—Republic of the Philippines and People’s Republic of China—as both countries can influence the United States establishing an FDNF in the Philippines. In addition to these two countries, the United States is a key state that provides a naval capability to ensure FON and assert influence in the region. The Republic of the Philippines is the focus for establishing a U.S. FDNF due to its strategic location in the region. Additionally, the United States and the Republic of the Philippines already have a working relationship because of previous

basing of U.S. naval assets in the former U.S. Naval Station in Subic Bay, Philippines.

The proposed establishment of a U.S. FDNF in the Philippines warrants an analysis of the regional implications of basing U.S. naval forces in the Philippines.

Political, Military, Economic, Social, Information, Infrastructure

PMESII will focus on three key states (Philippines, China and the United States).

PMESII will provide a framework to analyze the environment and the problems associated with establishing a U.S. FDNF in the Philippines. Additionally PMESII will analyze the history between the key states in the research study and suggested approaches against identified problems.

Relationship, Actors, Functions, Tensions

The purpose of defining RAFT is to categorize information in a design framework to define the environment in the Republic of the Philippines. This study will view the environment using four criteria:

1. What is the current environment?
2. What do we want the environment to look like?
3. What is preventing the desired end state?
4. How do we get to the desired state?

These four criteria applied in RAFT is a baseline approach to identify specific data from chapter 2. In RAFT, data compiled from the literature review will show the advantages and disadvantages for the United States in establishing an FDNF in the Philippines. RAFT will also show the advantages or disadvantages for the Philippines and China with establishing of a U.S. FDNF in the Philippines.

The analysis will view three specific countries (Philippines, China, and the United States) that influence the basing of FDNF in the Republic of the Philippines. This study presents key information by listing the RAFT in the Republic of the Philippines, People's Republic of China, and the United States.

The RAFT matrix listed below covers these three countries and is divided into two parts due to the amount of data in presented. The RAFT matrix will present a topic followed by an analysis of that topic based on available research data in a narrative form. The application of this design framework in tables 9 and 11 in chapter 4 will show similarities and or contrasts between neighboring states, as well as the U.S. interests in the SCS region.

Case Study Method

In conducting this research study, the case study method will help answer the research questions. A case study used as a research method will use the following evaluation criteria to find the advantages and disadvantages for the United States, Republic of the Philippines, and China in establishing a U.S. FDNF in the Philippines:

1. Will it maintain FON?
2. Does it meet the preservation of peace in the region?
3. Does it resolve regional conflicts?
4. Does it strengthen relations with regional neighbors?

This case study will help answer the research questions and conclude with the advantages and disadvantages for the United States, Republic of the Philippines, and China in establishing a U.S. FDNF in the Philippines. The research questions focus on the advantages and disadvantages for the United States of an FDNF in the Philippines and

use data from the literature review to establish depth and breadth for the research. The background information obtained from the literature review will create a foundation for further analysis. The case study method will categorize the information by identifying the critical information that feeds the evaluation category for PMESII and RAFT. Categorizing the information into advantages and disadvantages for the United States will help explain the variables addressed in PMESII and RAFT. The results will provide a comparison of the criteria, analyze the results, and describe the advantages and disadvantages for the United States in establishing a FDNF in the Philippines.

The Six-Step Case Study Method

This research study uses the six-step case study method to answer the research questions.⁵⁵ This method is incorporated throughout this research study and defined in the description of each step.

The first step is to determine and define the research question, which has been identified in chapter 1. To conduct the research process, the research question required a review and approval from the research committee. The research question has to focus on a specific topic of study. Part of step 1 also includes the process of conducting a literature review. During the research, the Combined Arms Research Library was used to compile the literature review. The Combined Arms Research Library provided a large amount of data, which assisted in identifying the key portions that would present facts both positive

⁵⁵ School of Information, The University of Texas at Austin, “The Case Study as a Research Method,” The University of Texas at Austin, 1997, accessed April 5, 2016, <https://www.ischool.utexas.edu/~ssoy/usesusers/1391d1b.htm>.

and negative, with respect to the basing of a FDNF in the Philippines. Previous research material conducted on FDNF in the Asia-Pacific region was also compiled.

In step 2, data is gathered and reviewed to determine what material is needed to conduct the research study. During step 2, it was important to determine the appropriate literature that would answer the research questions. It was also important to include different sources of information to present positive and negative points of view, and advantages and disadvantages. The introduction of positive and negative perspectives helped ensure all sides of the topic were considered appropriately. The presentation of both perspectives leads to more credible research analysis and helps eliminate or mitigate any bias on the part of the researcher toward any particular outcome of the study.

In step 3, preparing to collect the data involves a tremendous amount of information. Creating a process of organizing the information was vital to the research. It was helpful to maintain version control on the research study to ensure feedback from research committee members was not lost. Organizing the data benefited the research by providing time management in finding information and properly citing research material.

In step 4, collecting data in the field leads to a more refined process of identifying the information to answer the research question. In this step, current news media was utilized to help refine the research study and incorporate updated information.

In step 5, evaluating and analyzing the data provided linkages between the research object and the outcomes with respect to the research questions. The use of evaluation criteria benefited the analysis by providing a means to identify the advantages and disadvantages for the United States in basing FDNF in the Philippines. Using PMESII and RAFT as a design framework helps to provide a snap shot of the key states

involved with establishing an FDNF in the Philippines. Along with the design framework is a narrative explaining in more detail the advantages and disadvantages based on the linkages found in the research material.

In step 6, preparing the conclusion helps in presenting the research and providing a clear understanding of the problem. The conclusion presents data that is publicly accessible to assist readers in determining their own conclusions.

Research Bias

Conducting research involves the ability to analyze a broad range of information while limiting the influence of personal bias. With a wide range of information on the topic of FDNF, information about the advantages and disadvantages was available. In conducting research, the reliance of professional experience from other naval experts and guidance on how to conduct research was provided by committee members to mitigate any personal bias. As part of the analysis process, a review of the outcome verifies linkages with the reference material and helped to mitigate personal bias.

It is important to recognize and use different sources to get a wide-angle view and accurately answer the research question. Although the potential for research bias is always present, being aware of this will help mitigate it. Additionally, the application of the Paul and Elder critical thinking concepts helps mitigate bias by examining the information and taking into account other viewpoints on the topic.⁵⁶ Addressing bias will reduce the potential perception that the research is leading to a predetermined outcome.

⁵⁶ Critical Thinking Community, “Elements and Standards Learning Tool,” Foundation for Critical Thinking, accessed May 22, 2016, <http://www.criticalthinking.org/pages/elements-and-standards-learning-tool/783>.

Identifying bias is important since it may influence the reader's current understanding of the situation, especially information from other sources like social media or news agencies that report on the policies and actions of governments in the region. Addressing the influence of news media is important since media can be a factor in creating bias; analysis by the media does not always address all the information that shows both positive and negative sides of an issue. This makes it critical that a wide variety of references are present to provide other views and consideration in answering the research question.

Conclusion

Chapter 3 describes the research methodology used to answer the research questions. Organizing and categorizing the information on the key states (Philippines, China, and the United States) focuses the analysis on the relationships of each country in the region. The utilization of PMESII, RAFT, and the six-step case study method will provide an analysis that will show the advantages and disadvantages for the key states with the United States establishing a FDNF in the Republic of the Philippines. Research bias is also discussed to help mitigate bias and provide other viewpoints in answering the research questions.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

This chapter will provide an analysis of the political, military, economic, social, information, infrastructure, relationships, actors, functions, and tensions of the Republic of the Philippines, People's Republic of China, and the United States. This analysis will answer the following research questions: what are the advantages and disadvantages for the United States in establishing a FDNF in the Republic of the Philippines; and what are the advantages and disadvantages for the Philippines and China with establishment of a U.S. FDNF in the Philippines? The United States has stated in the 2014 QDR and NSS the need to preserve peace and stability in the SCS. The analysis will focus on the U.S. priority of rebalancing the Asia-Pacific to preserve peace and stability in the region.⁵⁷ This chapter will also present critical areas that need consideration when establishing a FDNF in the Republic of the Philippines.

Political, Military, Economic, Social, Information, and Infrastructure

The use of PMESII will focus on the naval influence and categorize the information to provide data for analyzing the environment and identifying problems. PMESII will list the issues and concerns with an FDNF in the Philippines from the following countries: Republic of the Philippines, People's Republic of China, and the United States. The matrix in table 4 will examine the essential information and present the data in a list for analysis and comparison using the evaluation criteria matrix in table 11.

⁵⁷ Secretary of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review*, 11.

United States

The United States has a long-term interest in promoting peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region due to the region's significance as a prime source of economic stability. Providing a significant naval force in the region will be an advantage for the United States and will promote a relationship that fosters economic growth in the area. The impact of the U.S. effort will provide an advantage for all nations, enabling the ability to use the open oceans as trade routes, helping each country meet economic goals and security needs. Table 4 provides an overview using PMESII and the impact of each key state (United States, Philippines, and China) in the region along with the problems and recommendations.

Table 4. U.S. Political, Military, Economic, Social, Information, Infrastructure

PMESII	Environment		Problem	
	History	Actors	Problems	Approach
Political	US/PH Advantage US/CH Neutral	US/PH/CH	US Secure SLOC	Diplomatic
Military	US/PH Advantage US/CH Neutral	US/PH/CH	US Force Basing	Military
Economic	US/PH Advantage US/CH Advantage	US/PH/CH	US Positive	Open Dialog
Social	US/PH Advantage US/CH Advantage	US/PH/CH	US Positive	Open Dialog
Information	US/PH Advantage US/CH Advantage	US/PH/CH	US Flexing FON	Diplomatic
Infrastructure	US/PH Advantage US/CH Disadvantage	US/PH/CH	US Limited	Diplomatic

Source: Created by author. Note: US=United States; PH=Republic of the Philippines; CH=People's Republic of China.

Political

The political relationship between the United States and the Republic of the Philippines is positive due to the United States having a long history of cooperation with the Republic of the Philippines. As a former colony of the United States, Americans regard the Philippines as a longtime ally in the Asia-Pacific region. Historically, the Philippines and United States benefited with the establishment of a naval base in Subic Bay, Philippines. The base helped boost the defensive capabilities of the Philippines until 1991. Failed negotiations between the United States and the Philippines ended the basing of U.S. forces in the Philippines making the withdrawal the biggest reduction to date of a U.S. military presence in the Western Pacific.⁵⁸ The departure of U.S. forces from the Philippines in 1991 shifted naval assets to Japan and Singapore, leaving no U.S. military capability in the Philippines.

With the outbreak of combating terrorism, the United States established a renewed diplomatic cooperation with the Philippines, and in 2002, the first U.S. troops started to arrive to assist the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) in the fight against internal terrorist groups. Although the treaty was a positive move towards political relations between both countries, no guarantees are in place for permanent infrastructures due to Philippine law prohibiting permanent bases. This political issue needs discussion in future agreements as relations continue to develop between the United States and the

⁵⁸ David E. Sanger, "Philippines Orders U.S. to Leave Strategic Navy Base at Subic Bay," *The New York Times*, December 28, 1991, accessed May 5, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/1991/12/28/world/philippines-orders-us-to-leave-strategic-navy-base-at-subic-bay.html?pagewanted=all>.

Republic of the Philippines.⁵⁹ Today, the United States has stated in its NSS that it intends to reinvigorate its ties with the Republic of the Philippines.⁶⁰ This renewed effort in the Philippines shows how important the Asia Pacific region is to the United States and it is in its best interest to maintain a partnership with the Philippines to ensure the United States has the flexibility to provide stability in the region.

Military

With the rise of China, the United States is seeking a constructive relationship with the Chinese government along with the benefits of promoting security and prosperity in the region and throughout the world.⁶¹ The ability of China to influence the SCS through its maritime capability is a concern in the region, and the U.S. goal is to prevent any escalation of force or misunderstanding. The U.S. Department of Defense is building a constructive dialogue with the PLAN to improve military relations and have a common maritime goal such as counter-piracy, peacekeeping, and humanitarian assistance and disaster relief.⁶² However, the preponderance of force is on the side of the Chinese maritime force and requires the United States to shift naval forces towards the Asia-Pacific to afford the ability to counter emerging anti-access and area denial threats.⁶³ China's increased assertiveness has caused all Association of Southeast Asian

⁵⁹ Berteau and Green, 36.

⁶⁰ U.S. President, *National Security Strategy*, 7.

⁶¹ U.S. President, *National Security Strategy*, 24.

⁶² Secretary of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review*, 17.

⁶³ Berteau and Green, 5.

Nations member states to demonstrate concern and find ways to expand engagement with the United States.⁶⁴ This move by Association of Southeast Asian Nations members has initiated U.S. government relations with countries in the SCS with the expectation that cooperation with the United States will lead to an increase in U.S. diplomatic pressure on China regarding territorial disputes.⁶⁵

The U.S. military maintains a naval presence in the Asia-Pacific with the Seventh Fleet based out of Yokosuka, Japan and rotational ships transiting the area as part of a scheduled deployment. The United States considers the SCS as a vital SLOC that needs to be unrestricted for both military transit and commercial shipping.⁶⁶ While the United States has maintained a MDT with the Philippines, other countries such as Singapore, have expanded defense relationships and cooperation with the United States.⁶⁷ In this case, Singapore has accepted to host four U.S. Navy LCS at Changi naval base.⁶⁸ The basing of LCS presents Singapore as a strategic location to provide a means to patrol the southern area of the SCS. Basing of LCS in Singapore will also provide U.S. naval assets to conduct anti-piracy operations to ensure security for the 70 percent of maritime commerce that passes through the Strait of Malacca and the SCS.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Ibid., 34-35.

⁶⁵ Thayer, 8.

⁶⁶ Garcia, 2.

⁶⁷ Berteau and Green, 18.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 35.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 34.

With the events in the SCS, the Republic of the Philippines has maintained an open partnership with the United States and recently agreed to establish five U.S. bases in the Philippines. U.S. military forces will use bases in the following locations: Antonio Bautista Air Base in Palawan, Basa Air Base near Manila, Fort Magsaysay in Luzon, Lumbia Air Base in Mindanao, and Mactan-Benito Ebuen Air Base in Cebu.⁷⁰ Since these locations are AFP air bases, the United States will use these locations to facilitate logistical support for other U.S. forces that will be operating in the area. With bases being available, the United States has pledged to provide two Hamilton-class Coast Guard cutters and a second hand squadron of F-16 fighters to boost Philippine military capability.⁷¹

The United States sees a risk in China's continued military modernization and its ability to counter U.S. strengths by using anti-access and area-denial capability as well as employment of new cyber and space control technologies.⁷² Another concern specifically for the U.S. Navy, is China's development of the first anti-ship ballistic missiles, capable of targeting U.S. naval vessels from beyond China's 1,000 nautical miles defensive layers.⁷³ The United States has placed a great emphasis on countering ballistic missile

⁷⁰ Andrew Tilghman, "The U.S. military is moving into these 5 bases in the Philippines," *Military Times*, April 1, 2016, accessed May 8, 2016, <http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/03/21/us-plans-use-five-new-bases-philippines/82072138/>.

⁷¹ Berteau and Green, 36.

⁷² Secretary of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review*, 6.

⁷³ Wendell Minnick, "China's Parade Puts US Navy on Notice," *Defense News*, September 3, 2015, accessed May 8, 2016, <http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/naval/2015/09/03/chinas-parade-puts-us-navy-notice/71632918/>.

challenges by detecting missiles and employing the ability to deter and defeat these kinds of threats.⁷⁴ Regardless of the threats and risk that have been identified, the United States seeks to improve relations with China's military by establishing cooperation in areas such as counter-piracy, peacekeeping, and humanitarian assistance and disaster relief.⁷⁵

Economic

Economically, the Asia-Pacific region is becoming essential to the United States concerning global commerce, politics, and security.⁷⁶ With a positive partnership with the Republic of the Philippines, the United States will be in a strategic position to ensure SLOC are available in the region. With this partnership, the Republic of the Philippines received a pledged on May 3, 2012 from the United States to increase foreign military financing from \$11.9 million to \$30 million annually.⁷⁷ This will greatly increase the Philippines' ability to ensure a means to protect its economic interests. It is important that nations in the area have a secure environment to maintain stability and prevent any country from seeking force to attain economic security.⁷⁸ In a study from the Center for Strategic and International Studies, China appears to be experiencing an economic slowdown, giving the United States an opportunity to buttress its political, economic, and

⁷⁴ Secretary of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review*, 14.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁷⁷ Berteau and Green, 36.

⁷⁸ Craig Cohen and Melissa Dalton, eds., *2016 Global Forecast* (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2015), accessed May 8, 2016, http://csis.org/files/publication/151116_Cohen_GlobalForecast2016_Web.pdf.

military position in the Asia-Pacific, ensuring the ability of the United States to maintain security in the region.⁷⁹

Social, Information, Infrastructure

The United States maintains open dialog and a positive social relationship with the Philippines. The renewed cooperation between the countries is due to China's aggressive territorial claims in the SCS. The aggressive moves by China have made it possible for the United States to assert its influence in the region as a country willing to assist the Philippines. Although the Philippines has agreed to open bases for use by the United States, an issue of limited infrastructure has been identified, making this a topic that has to be negotiated in the future due to the current Philippine law that prohibits permanent bases. Furthermore, any infrastructure built by the United States will become permanent property of the Philippines in the event that the United States redeploys or abandons the military infrastructure.

Republic of the Philippines

The Republic of the Philippines has been a longtime ally of the United States. Historically, the Philippines hosted bases for the U.S. Navy in Subic Bay and the U.S. Air Force at Clark Air Base. Until their closure, both bases were the largest outposts for the U.S. military in the region.⁸⁰ The Philippines is located strategically, with multiple

⁷⁹ Ibid., 61.

⁸⁰ Dilpreet Kaur, "SOFAs Between East Asia Allies," in *Task Force 2015: Rethinking United States Military Bases in East Asia*, ed. Bridget Chan and Jack Truitt (Seattle, WA: The Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, Winter 2015), 233.

accesses into the SCS, making the Philippines an ideal location to station a naval force that can quickly gain access into the SCS. Table 5 provides an overview using PMESII and the impact of each key state (United States, Philippines, and China) in the region along with the problems and approach recommendation.

Table 5. Philippine Political, Military, Economic, Social, Information, Infrastructure

PMESII	Environment		Problem	
	History	Actors	Problems	Approach
Political	PH/US Advantage PH/CH Disadvantage	US/PH/CH	PH Territory	Diplomatic
Military	PH/US Advantage PH/CH Negative	US/PH/CH	PH Limited Force	Military
Economic	PH/US Advantage PH/CH Advantage	US/PH/CH	PH Positive	Open Dialog
Social	PH/US Advantage PH/CH Advantage	US/PH/CH	PH Positive	Open Dialog
Information	PH/US Advantage PH/CH Advantage	US/PH/CH	PH Seeking support	Diplomatic
Infrastructure	PH/US Advantage PH/CH Disadvantage	US/PH/CH	PH Limited C4I	Diplomatic

Source: Created by author. Note: US=United States; PH=Republic of the Philippines; CH=People's Republic of China; C4I=Command, Control, Communications, Computers, and Intelligence.

Political

The political environment between the Republic of the Philippines and the United States is positive, and both countries have maintained a long-term treaty under the MDT of 1951, with an understanding that both countries provide military aid in the event of a

conflict in the region.⁸¹ With the MDT of 1951, the United States agreed it would not take any position in favor of any country with regard to territorial disputes between the Republic of the Philippines and neighboring countries. With a policy of no interference with territorial claims, the United States will not involve itself militarily if the People's Republic of China were to seize a Philippine-claimed island.⁸² This policy creates tension in the region as countries neighboring the Philippines try to exploit the U.S. policy and prevent interference from the United States. With the withdrawal of U.S. forces from the Philippines in 1991, the People's Republic of China began to take advantage of the lack of naval forces in the Philippines and began installing permanent infrastructures in the Philippine-claimed Spratly Islands.⁸³ The Philippines, having relied on the military force provided by the United States, did not adequately fund the AFP or prepare its military once the United States departed the Philippines.⁸⁴ The inadequate military force of the Philippines proved incapable of preventing the People's Republic of China occupation of Philippine claimed islands. The absence of U.S. naval forces in the Philippines also contributed to the People's Republic of China's bold move to occupy the Spratly Islands. Having identified the lack of military forces the Philippines, both the United States and the Republic of the Philippines entered into a SOFA in 1993 that was extended until 1998.⁸⁵ The United States and the Republic of the Philippines also signed a bilateral VFA

⁸¹ Rosen.

⁸² Rosen, i.

⁸³ Kim, 257.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

that substituted for the SOFA.⁸⁶ The United States and the Philippines continued to make improvements to the MDT and the VFA, and in 2014, they agreed to the EDCA, which opened the Philippines for more U.S. military bases.⁸⁷

Military

The Philippines military expenditure (depicted in table 6) shows the Philippines is outspent when comparing military spending with other countries such as China. The data from table 6 and figure 4 illustrates the differences between the rates of increase in military expenditures from both China and the Philippines. As a result, the Republic of the Philippines possesses a weak military and is unable to use naval or air capabilities to deter Chinese military.⁸⁸

Table 6. Military Expenditure: Philippines Compared to China, in Constant (2014) USD Millions, 2007-2015

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Philippines	2,839	2,840	2,731	2,869	2,916	2,957	3,362	3,103	3,893
China	103,716	113,527	137,401	144,383	155,898	169,321	182,930	199,651	214,485

Source: Created by author using data from Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, “SIPRI military Expenditure Database,” accessed April 12, 2016, http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex_database.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 258.

⁸⁸ Swaine, 78.

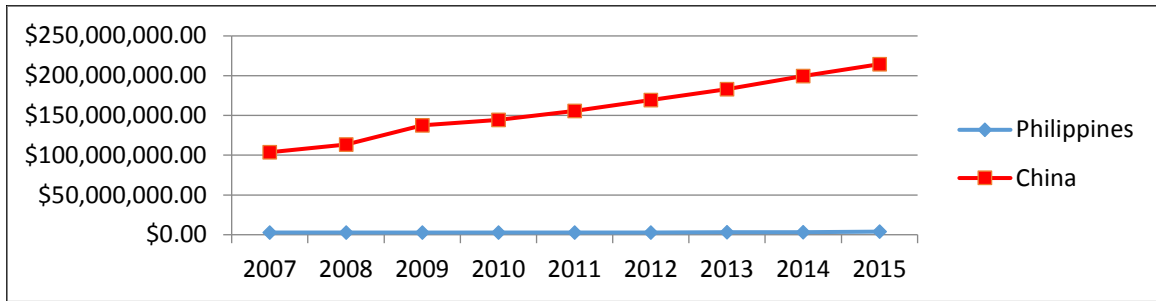


Figure 4. Military Expenditure: Philippines Compared to China, in Constant (2014) USD Millions, 2007-2015

Source: Created by author using data from Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, “SIPRI military Expenditure Database,” accessed April 12, 2016, http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex_database.

The Philippines has stated that it will begin to increase military expenditures and has allocated \$1.8 billion for equipment acquisition in addition to the 2013 to 2018 defense budget.⁸⁹ Although the increase in military expenditure creates a positive environment for both the United States and the Philippines, the amount is still insufficient to counter the increasing the People’s Republic of China military presence in the SCS. The Philippines’ goal is to achieve effective governance of air and maritime space by 2027.⁹⁰ To achieve this goal, the Republic of the Philippines will require significant military presence from the United States until the Philippines is able to sustain air and maritime control. The benefit for the United States will be a continued military presence in the SCS with bases located strategically in the Philippines.

⁸⁹ Swaine, 79.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

Economic

Economically, the basing of U.S. naval forces in the Philippines creates a positive environment because it will support the five important U.S. global interests in the region. The U.S. global interests in the Asia-Pacific region include protecting free and unimpeded commerce in the global commons, securing peace and stability among the states, supporting diplomacy and rules-based conduct, ensuring the U.S. military freedom to operate in compliance with international law, and providing support to U.S. allies and defense partners.⁹¹ Having U.S. naval forces based in the Philippines will be cost effective for the United States in terms of transit time and operating costs in comparison to units deploying from continental United States (CONUS) bases.⁹²

Social, Information, Infrastructure

The social environment between the Philippines and the United States is positive due to the treaties and increased cooperation between the countries. The Philippines and the United States continue to expand diplomatic ties and create an understanding of each country's goal such as the Balikatan exercises that provides the Philippines with an understanding of what the United States could provide during a crisis or humanitarian mission.

People's Republic of China

An analysis of the People's Republic of China seeks to determine the outcome in terms of advantages and disadvantages for the United States in establishing a FDNF in

⁹¹ Bouchat, i-ii.

⁹² Lostumbo, 34.

the Republic of the Philippines. A narrative is included after the matrix and covers each category of PMESII. This analysis will narrate social, information and infrastructure as one category. Table 7 provides an overview using PMESII and the impact of each key state (United States, Philippines, and China) in the region along with the problems and approach recommendation.

Table 7. China Political, Military, Economic, Social, Information, Infrastructure

PMESII	Environment		Problem	
	History	Actors	Problems	Approach
Political	CH/PH Disadvantage CH/US Neutral	US/PH/CH	CH Territory	Diplomatic
Military	CH/PH Disadvantage CH/US Neutral	US/PH/CH	CH Defensive Layer	Military
Economic	CH/PH Advantage CH/US Advantage	US/PH/CH	CH Positive	Open Dialog
Social	CH/PH Advantage CH/US Advantage	US/PH/CH	CH Positive	Open Dialog
Information	CH/PH Advantage CH/US Advantage	US/PH/CH	CH Territory Claims	Diplomatic
Infrastructure	CH/PH Disadvantage CH/US Disadvantage	US/PH/CH	CH Expanding in SCS	Diplomatic

Source: Created by author. Note: US=United States; PH=Republic of the Philippines; CH=People's Republic of China.

Political

The People's Republic of China is a centralized communist government that places an emphasis on political victory over military ends.⁹³ This concept is relevant in this study to give a context of Chinese approach in resolving an issue. China's expansion in the SCS has caused tension with the Philippines, while the United States seeks a neutral position due to China's expanded role in the region. Chinese leaders see access to the maritime commons as essential, becoming more assertive in the SCS.⁹⁴ China joined UNCLOS in 1996, but this has created maritime boundary disputes due to the EEZ conflict in the SCS.⁹⁵ Tensions have risen between China and its neighboring countries due to its excessive territorial claims that conflict with UNCLOS. Maintaining open SLOC is a political concern in China and is a sensitive issue in the maritime domain. One example of how open SLOC are critical to China occurred in 1993 when the U.S. Navy stopped a Chinese container ship *Yinhe* due to suspicion of carrying chemical weapons material destined for Iran.⁹⁶

Military

China's maritime domain is based on three maritime interests (table 3). First, is a reunification with Taiwan, which has been a sensitive issue politically and socially. A

⁹³ IHS, "The drive to modernize," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment-China and Northeast Asia*, Executive Summary, China, article 18 (September 30, 2015): 4.

⁹⁴ Thomas J. Bickford, with Heidi Holz, and Frederic Vellucci Jr., *Uncertain Waters: Thinking about China's Emergence as a Maritime Power* (Arlington, VA: Center for Naval Analysis and Solutions, September 2011), 1.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

second interest concerns defending the boundaries of China's claimed EEZ and exercising sovereignty over the islands claimed in the East and South China Seas. Third, China aims to prevent an outside attack on its coastal areas.⁹⁷ China's territorial disputes are listed in table 8, which shows four sets of islands. The Chinese names of the islands are in parentheses. It is interesting to note that both China and the Philippines claim the Macclesfield Bank even though it does not have a permanent feature above water. It would be ideal to claim the Macclesfield Bank to establish a historical account and possibly create an artificial feature once the dispute were settled.

Table 8. Islands Claimed by People's Republic of China and Area for Dispute

Island	Claimed By
Pratas Islands (Dongsha Islands)	China
Macclesfield Bank (Zhongsha Island)	China, Philippines
Paracel Islands (Xisha Islands)	China
Spratly Islands (Nansha)	China, Philippines

Source: Thomas J. Bickford, with Heidi Holz, and Frederic Vellucci Jr., *Uncertain Waters: Thinking about China's Emergence as a Maritime Power* (Arlington, VA: Center for Naval Analysis and Solutions, September 2011), 21.

China's interest in the maritime domain has forced the PLAN to increase in size. The need for more ships is due to the requirement of securing China's SLOCs along with maintaining security for the occupied islands in the SCS. China's military budget has increased by over 500 percent since 1995, bringing in new technologies, cyber-attack

⁹⁷ Bickford, Holz, and Vellucci, 20.

capabilities, and new fourth generation level platforms and new precision strike systems.⁹⁸

Economic

China has one of the most stable economic structures in the region and maintains a bilateral relationship with the Philippines. In the past decade, China's market has become one of the top three export markets in the region, competing with the United States and Japan.⁹⁹ China exports affordable goods and merchandise throughout the world and maintains a positive economic environment with both the United States and the Philippines. China's neighboring countries have benefited from China's exports, further growing China's economy and ability to trade.¹⁰⁰ The Philippines is following China's growth and have started exporting Philippine goods to expand economic relations. Driving the growth in exports from these countries is China's thirst for raw materials.¹⁰¹ Imports coming into China include electronics, scientific equipment, office equipment, textiles, industrial machinery, telecommunications, iron, steel, ore, and scrap.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ IHS, "China at a Glance," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment-China and Northeast Asia*, article 1 (September 30, 2015): 2.

⁹⁹ Medeiros, 5.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 7.

¹⁰² Ibid.

Social, Information, Infrastructure

The social relationship between the United States and China is currently positive due to the U.S. policy of establishing cooperation with China. Diplomatic ties are currently ongoing to resolve territorial disputes in the SCS. However, the installation of anti-access and area denial systems in the SCS creates a negative issue between the United States and China because of the increased tension and possible escalation in the use of force.

Understanding U.S. Overseas Military Presence using Relationships, Actors, Functions, and Tensions

An American military presence in the Asian-Pacific could be transformed with the establishment of a FDNF in the Philippines as indicated by the application of the RAFT model (tables 9 and 10) on the three key states: the United States, China, and the Philippines. The analysis points out that the United States gains a significant advantage by establishing a FDNF in the Republic of the Philippines.

Table 9. Relationship Actors Functions Tensions Matrix Part I

	Relationships	Actors	Functions	Tensions
What is the current environment?	-US/PH EDCA -US/CH Constructive relationship	US	-US/PH mutual defense agreement -US/CH in the interest of peace and stability	-US/PH Advantage -US/CH Critical
	-PH/US EDCA -PH/CH Disputed territory	PH	-PH/US mutual defense agreement -PH/CH ongoing territory dispute	-PH/US Advantage -PH/CH Adversarial
	-CH/US Interruption to CH territory claims -CH/PH Disputed territory	CH	-CH/US View US as non-supportive of claims -CH/PH ongoing territory dispute	-CH/US Disadvantage -CH/PH Disadvantage
What should the environment to look like?	-US/PH EDCA via FDNF -US/CH Open relations	US	-US/PH FDNF basing to support region -US/CH Open relations to build regional partnership	-US/PH Advantage -US/CH Advantage
	-PH/US EDCA with US -PH/CH Resolved territory disputes	PH	-PH/US continued defense agreement -PH/CH agreements on territory claims	-PH/US Advantage -PH/CH Advantage
	-CH/US Partnership with US -CH/PH Resolve territory disputes	CH	-CH/US Partnership to strengthen relations -CH/PH agreements on territory claims	-CH/US Advantage -CH/PH Advantage

Source: Created by author. Note: US=United States; PH=Republic of the Philippines; CH=People's Republic of China.

Table 10. Relationship Actors Functions Tensions Matrix Part II

	Relationships	Actors	Functions	Tensions
What is preventing desired end state?	-US/PH Resource to enable FDNF in the PH -US/CH Disputed territory in the SCS	US	-US/PH Current budget and limited size of the force -US/CH Ongoing territory dispute in the SCS	-US/PH Critical -US/CH Disadvantage
	-PH/US internal security commitments -PH/CH continued expansion of CH territory claim	PH	-PH/US Limited AFP forces to assist with US EDCA -PH/CH Continued disputes over CH territorial claim	-PH/US Advantage -PH/CH Disadvantage
	-CH/US internal goal of expanding territorial claims -CH/PH Interference by PH in territory claimed by CH	CH	-CH/US the US disputing CH territorial claims -CH/PH the PH contesting CH territorial claim in the SCS	-CH/US Disadvantage -CH/PH Disadvantage
How is the desired end state achieved?	-US/PH Increase support to PH AFP via FDNF -US/CH Continue open dialog and conduct FON in the SCS	US	-US/PH shift military assets to support the PH AFP -US/CH continued dialog to prevent excessive territorial claim	-US/PH Advantage -US/CH Contested
	-PH/US enable basing of US FDNF in the PH -PH/CH continue territorial claim negotiation with CH via UN	PH	-PH/US enabling US FDNF will boost PH ability to provide SLOC -PH/CH dialog with CH will prevent any conflict over disputed territory	-PH/US Advantage -PH/CH Disadvantage
	-CH/US agreement based on CH and US goals in the SCS -CH/PH negotiate with PH for a shared territory in the SCS	CH	-CH/US review US and CH goals for the SCS and negotiate for an agreement for peace and stability in the region -CH/PH negotiate with PH and agree to a shared territory in the SCS	-CH/US Disadvantage -CH/PH Disadvantage

Source: Created by author. Note: US=United States; PH=Republic of the Philippines; CH=People's Republic of China.

What is the Current Environment?

In table 9, there are two areas (treaty obligations with the Philippines and China's aggressive territorial claims) that define the current environment in establishing a U.S.

FDNF in the Republic of the Philippines. First, the current environment favors the United States because of its positive relationship with the Philippines. This analysis is based on

the mutual defense treaties that were agreed upon by the United States and the Republic of the Philippines. The treaties with the Philippines provides the United States with the advantage of transforming current presence postures in the region and has the advantage of improving U.S. performance concerning fundamental security objectives. In this respect, the Department of Defense serves as the functioning force to execute U.S. security objectives such as deterrence, assurance of friends and allies, provision of timely crisis response capability, regional stability, and security conditions that promote freedom and prosperity.¹⁰³ Second is the tension between the United States and China due to the aggressive territorial claims by the People's Republic of China.¹⁰⁴ China is currently expanding islands in the SCS and is establishing territorial boundaries that overlap EEZs of the Philippines. The aggressive territorial claim by China in the SCS has created tension with the Philippines.

What Should the Environment Look Like?

Additionally, table 9 features four areas that would present an ideal environment for the United States: the reduction of tension, treaty commitments, balancing force, and military efficiency. First, an ideal environment for the United States would be one that eliminates any tensions between China and the Philippines. Secondly, an establishment of an FDNF in the Philippines would show commitment to treaty obligations. These obligations would provide military defensive assistance to the Philippines to combat external and internal threats in the Philippines. Third, the rebalancing of maritime forces

¹⁰³ Thomason, I-1.

¹⁰⁴ U.S. President, *National Security Strategy*, 13.

in the region due to the expansion of China's maritime force in the SCS would be ideal. Finally, fourth is a military efficiency that is gained with the advantage of having an FDNF in the Philippines, which increases naval presence in the region. However, a disadvantage will be the shorter lifespan of naval assets such as ships, aircraft, and support equipment due to the high operating tempo of an FDNF. Over time, FDNF provides an advantage in operating efficiency, and reducing labor-intensive requirements due to shorter daily operating costs and associated post operational maintenance costs. With an FDNF established in the Philippines, the U.S. Navy can respond within thirty days and eliminate the transit time required of forces deploying from CONUS.¹⁰⁵ With a FDNF, efficiency will increase with the improved information gathering function associated with an infrastructure housing a C4ISR capability. Having a C4ISR capability in the Philippines is a strategic advantage based on its location with regard to neighboring countries. This C4ISR capability can generate an increase in surveillance and patrol of neighboring countries. A secondary advantage in efficiency by establishing a FDNF in the Philippines will be a reduction in deployment time for service members based in CONUS. The additional time away from deployment may promote a stable environment and improve conditions for service members and their families.

What Is Preventing the Desired End State?

In table 10, two areas (limited resources and territorial disputes) may prevent the desired end state. First, the current budget and limited size of the U.S. naval force are preventing the desired end state of establishing a FDNF in the Philippines. With

¹⁰⁵ Lostumbo, 34.

sequestration, the United States is forced to reduce naval assets and invest in naval platforms that provide multi-role missions. Second, establishing a U.S. FDNF in the Republic of the Philippines provides a strategic advantage, but it presents a point of tension with China. China and the Philippines have an ongoing territorial dispute in the SCS, and the establishment of an FDNF in the Philippines may present a risk in increasing further tension with China. Although unlikely to occur, an additional risk for the United States is the potential loss of investment to base infrastructure in the event that the host nation revokes U.S. access, forcing military forces to vacate established bases.¹⁰⁶

How Is the Desired End State Achieved?

Table 10 has two areas (increasing military support and increasing negotiation) that would achieve the desired end state for the United States. First, increasing the number of naval assets by establishing a FDNF in the Philippines would achieve the desired state. Since 2002, the Republic of the Philippines and the U.S. military, through Operation Enduring Freedom-Philippine maintains a rotational presence and uses Philippine air and naval bases on a regular basis.¹⁰⁷ The rotation of U.S. forces provides the Philippines with U.S. military assistance in combating terrorist groups. With a steady rotation of forces, both the United States and the Republic of the Philippines can enhance relationships and mutually support each other's military forces through exercises and combined patrols in the region. The added naval force patrolling the SCS may deter any potential conflicts or escalation on the use of force to resolve territorial disputes in the

¹⁰⁶ Lostumbo, xxiii.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 25.

region. Second, increasing negotiation with China may prevent any escalation of force and reduce tension in the SCS. The use of UNCLOS through the United Nations would assist in negotiating territorial disputes between China and the Philippines.

Criteria for Evaluation

Determining the advantages and disadvantages of a U.S. FDNF in the Philippines requires the determination of evaluation criteria as stated in chapter 3. The intent is to use the following criteria to identify advantages and disadvantages for the United States, China, and the Philippines: FON, peace in the region, resolving regional conflicts, and strengthen relations. These criteria identify the advantages and disadvantages of a FDNF for the United States, as well as the impact on China and the Philippines. The six-step case study method, in conjunction with the RAFT and PMESII model, will provide a more complete answer to the research questions. The utilization of four evaluation criteria stated as questions will provide an argument that can support or counter the need for U.S. forces in the SCS. The evaluation criteria will view the roles of the United States, Philippines, and China in the SCS to include the possible reaction towards the establishment of a U.S. FDNF and their action as they patrol from the Philippines. Below are the four evaluation criteria used in this research study:

1. Criteria: Will it maintain FON?

Title: Freedom of navigation

Definition: FON is the ability of a vessel to transit in international waters without detention or use of force to comply with the maritime laws of another nation. Freedom of navigation is the transportation of goods in international waters for commercial shipping

without any criminal intentions. Freedom of navigation includes military vessels in transit without any hostile intent or action towards nearby countries.

Formula: more is better

2. Criteria: Does it meet the preservation of peace in the region?

Title: Peace in the region

Definition: Preservation of peace in the region is a maritime action that conveys and promotes peace between neighboring countries in the region. Preservation of peace in the region includes the safe passage of commercial vessels without the danger from warships transiting the area. Preservation of peace includes government policies that allow cooperation between nations.

Formula: more is better

3. Criteria: Does it resolve regional conflicts?

Title: Resolve regional conflicts

Definition: This includes strategic policies that seek to resolve regional conflicts in the area. It is important that governments remain active and communicate with each other to address disputes and find methods to deal with the tensions. Having an open negotiation between governments that attempts to determine conditions will help resolve the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a coastal nation.

Formula: more is better

4. Criteria: Does it strengthen relations with regional neighbors?

Title: Strengthen relations

Definition: Strengthening relations with regional neighbors includes activities with the goal of creating a partnership to enhance maritime, economic, and military goals in the

region. Strengthening relations with regional neighbors includes the promotion of an open market to create a stable economy in the area. An example would be a naval military exercise that combines military resources to support defense efforts.

Formula: more is better

Table 11 provides a matrix of the criteria applied to each major state in the region. The goal of this table is to orient each country and identify supporting positions and potential conflicts. This research study identifies that other countries not depicted in the matrix in table 11 may have similar positions or conflicts with the policies and action of the countries within the evaluation criteria. Following the criteria for evaluation matrix is a narrative that supports the data in table 11. This will provide further analysis and present insights to the position of the countries in the matrix. Different points of view will show whether the country supports or opposes the United States in establishing a FDNF in the Philippines.

Table 11. Criteria for Evaluation

Evaluation Criteria	United States	Philippines	China
Freedom of navigation	Advantage: Supports US defense priorities	Advantage: Meets Philippines strategic interests	Disadvantage: Conflicts with China's enduring goal of defending sovereignty and territorial integrity
Peace in the region	Advantage: NSS promotes a constructive relationship with China	Advantage: In line with Philippines interest in promoting external harmonious relationships with neighbors	Disadvantage: Negative outcome due to China's construction in the SCS and goal of defending sovereignty and territorial integrity
Resolve regional conflicts	Advantage: NSS seeks a relationship with China to prevent any conflict or potential escalation in the SCS	Disadvantage: The AFP is unable to present a deterrence to resolve or avert regional conflicts	Disadvantage: Potential conflict due to China's territorial claim in the SCS and China's enduring goal of defending sovereignty and territorial integrity
Strengthen relations	Advantage: Meets US defense priority to build innovative partnerships and strengthen key alliance and partnerships	Advantage: Enhance Philippine cooperative security arrangements with allies and neighbors	Disadvantage: Forces China to seek partnership with Russia which is in line with the goal of maintaining the rule of the Communist Party

Source: Created by author.

Freedom of Navigation

United States

The first section of table 11 addresses FON and the ability to conduct FON in the SCS, which is an advantage for the United States for the following reasons. The United States, as part of its defense priorities as stated in the 2014 QDR, is currently conducting maritime operations in the SCS and considers FON as a national interest that would maintain open access to Asia's maritime commons, while respecting international law in

the SCS.¹⁰⁸ Maintaining FON is important to enable unrestricted maritime economic partnership with neighboring countries in the Asia-Pacific region. However, maintaining FON may require deployment of additional naval assets from CONUS as the perceived threat from China continues to emerge. Without a FDNF in the Philippines, additional U.S. naval requirements would have to come from either Japan, where the Seventh Fleet is home-ported, or CONUS. With more deployments from locations in the United States, naval platforms would require additional resources and increase operating costs and support services.

Republic of the Philippines

A U.S. FDNF would be an advantage for the Republic of the Philippines due to their stated support for the U.S. FON efforts. The Republic of the Philippines is aware of the importance of having a continuing U.S. presence in the region and has aligned Philippine strategic interests with the U.S. strategic interest in maintaining FON in the West Philippine Sea.¹⁰⁹ The ability of the United States to conduct FON is an advantage and a positive effect since the Philippines now share the same strategic interest with the United States. However, the negative effect would be the tension created by a U.S. partnership with the Philippines since China may see this partnership as a threat to its enduring goal of defending its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

¹⁰⁸ Ben Dolven, *Maritime Territorial Disputes in East Asia: Issues for Congress*, (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, January 30, 2013), accessed May 8, 2016, <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc306520/>, 42.

¹⁰⁹ President of the Philippines, *2011-2016, National Security Policy: Securing the Gains of Democracy* (Manila, Philippines: Republic of the Philippines, October 21, 2010), 12.

China

A U.S. FDNF would be a disadvantage for China with respect to FON because it would work against the strategic interests of China. The U.S. maintenance of FON creates a potential for increased tensions in the SCS associated with the territorial disputes between China and the Philippines. These increased tensions, through treaties with the Philippines,¹¹⁰ may ultimately require employment of U.S. naval assets in support of Philippines naval activities. Although the United States has encouraged the use of the UNCLOS to resolve territorial disputes in the SCS, China has yet to accept the principles related to FON contained in UNCLOS.¹¹¹ Freedom of navigation is an advantage to the United States directly, and an advantage indirectly through treaties with the Philippines, but may be a disadvantage with respect to the potential for increasing tensions and naval conflict with China.

Peace in the Region

United States

A U.S. FDNF would be an advantage for the United States with respect to peace in the region for the following reasons. The focus for the United States through the NSS is to promote peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region.¹¹² This is an advantage for the United States, Philippines, and China because through the U.S. policy of promoting

¹¹⁰ Lillian Goldman Law Library, “Mutual Defense Treaty Between the United States and the Republic of the Philippines; August 30, 1951.”

¹¹¹ Susan Lawrence and David MacDonald, *U.S.-China Relations: Policy Issues*, (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, August 2, 2012), accessed May 8, 2016, <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/196934.pdf>, 3.

¹¹² U.S. President, *National Security Strategy*, 24.

peace and stability, an understanding is established that leads to open dialog and builds partnership development in the region. Furthermore, a strategy that welcomes China's growth through constructive relationship will be an advantage for both the United States and the Philippines because it promotes agreements and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific.¹¹³ Another advantage for both the U.S. and Philippines is the U.S. Department of Defense efforts to establish a partnership with the PLAN as an effort to create a joint military goal in the region. Finally, the advantage for the United States in exercising UNCLOS rules leads to peace, justice, and progress because it establishes an understanding that nations will keep clear of territorial seas, while conducting transits and abiding with agreed EEZ transit parameters.

Republic of the Philippines

A U.S. FDNF would be an advantage for the Philippines with respect to peace in the region for the following reasons. The Republic of the Philippines through its national security strategy considers peace and harmony as an enduring interest and states that it will forge engagement and relationships with other nations.¹¹⁴ The policy of the Philippines is an advantage for the United States since the United States gains a partner within the region that has the same goals and will accommodate U.S. efforts in the region. However, a disadvantage for the United States is the Philippines' lack of military capability to enforce peace and stability within its territorial waters. The lack of Philippine military capability will provide the United States with an advantage of

¹¹³ U.S. President, *National Security Strategy*, 24.

¹¹⁴ President of the Philippines, *2011-2016, National Security Policy*, 5.

negotiating the basing of naval forces with in the Philippines. With the United States establishing a forward naval force in the Philippines, a risk may arise and present a disadvantage by posing as a threat to China's interests in the SCS. Currently the Philippines have agreed to the establishment of U.S. bases due to China's bold claims and building construction in the SCS.¹¹⁵

China

A U.S. FDNF would be a disadvantage for China with respect to peace in the region for the following reasons. China's expansion of its territory in the SCS is creating tension between the United States. Although the United States has stated it will seek non-escalatory means of resolving territorial disputes with China, this policy presents a disadvantage to the United States as China continues to expand and change the contours of the islands in the SCS. With China's continued buildup of maritime capability in the area, a disadvantage for the United States is the lack of a FDNF that has the capability and ability to provide a stabilizing force in the SCS.

Resolve Regional Conflicts

United States

A U.S. FDNF would be an advantage for the United States with respect to resolving regional conflicts for the following reasons. Having a FDNF in the Philippines provides the United States with the ability to resolve conflicts in the SCS. The FDNF

¹¹⁵ Derek Watkins, "What China Has Been Building in the South China Sea," *The New York Times*, February 29, 2016, accessed May 8, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/07/30/world/asia/what-china-has-been-building-in-the-south-china-sea-2016.html?_r=0.

capability would be an advantage and is necessary due to the U.S. view of the Asia-Pacific region as a vital source of economic security. Having naval forces in place in the Philippines would be advantageous to the United States by possessing the ability to respond quickly and prevent any escalation in the use of deadly force by China or the Philippines. Additionally, the United States has acknowledged the importance of the SCS and has made a commitment to play an active role to resolve regional conflicts. The United States has stated that it will rebalance its naval force by providing 60 percent of its naval power in the Asia-Pacific region.¹¹⁶ The advantage of rebalancing U.S. naval forces may help avert an armed conflict among territorial claimant's states in the SCS and to realign the disproportionate naval force caused by China's maritime expansion.¹¹⁷

Republic of the Philippines

A U.S. FDNF would be a disadvantage for the Philippines with respect to resolving regional conflicts for the following reasons. In a Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment of the Philippines, the report identifies the AFP as lacking the capability to provide the essential military capability that can compete with China. This appraisal highlights the disadvantage for the United States given by the limited force possessed by the Philippines. Furthermore, the AFP has suffered from a lack of modernization, and

¹¹⁶ Secretary of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review*, 41.

¹¹⁷ Murray Hiebert, Phuong Nguyen, and Gregory Poling, *Examining the South China Sea Disputes* (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, September 2015), accessed May 8, 2016, http://csis.org/files/publication/151110_Hiebert_ExaminingSouthChinaSea_Web.pdf, 11.

procurement, causing its navy to operate obsolete vessels and perform a reduced role of supporting land forces.¹¹⁸

China

A U.S. FDNF would be a disadvantage for China with respect to resolving regional conflicts for the following reasons. China's actions illustrate China's three enduring goals of maintaining the rule of the communist party, defending the sovereignty and territorial integrity, and promoting national economic development.¹¹⁹ Chinese enduring goals lead to a disadvantage for the United States effort in resolving regional conflicts. The increased Chinese maritime force in the region creates a risk and a potential for conflict with U.S. and Philippine naval forces. Additionally, the United States will be at a disadvantage with the number of naval assets operating in the SCS compared to the proximity and number of Chinese naval forces in the region.

Strengthen Relations

United States

A U.S. FDNF would be an advantage for the United States with respect to strengthen relations for the following reasons. Since World War II, the United States continues to focus on supporting the advance of security and development of partnerships with the Republic of the Philippines.¹²⁰ The continued support to the Philippines is an advantage for the United States by maintaining cooperation and having a partner in the

¹¹⁸ IHS, "China at a Glance," 4.

¹¹⁹ Bickford, Holz, and Vellucci, 33.

¹²⁰ U.S. President, *National Security Strategy*, 24.

region that share U.S. strategic goals. The assistance provided by the United States constitutes a long-term advantage, especially when dealing with terrorist groups such as the Moro Islamic Liberation Front insurgency.¹²¹ This partnership in defeating Philippine internal terrorist group promotes U.S. commitment and builds trust with the government of the Philippines.

Republic of the Philippines

A U.S. FDNF would be an advantage for the Philippines with respect to strengthening relations for the following reasons. The Philippines has stated in its national security policy that it will improve internal socio-political stability, strengthen the integrity of its national institutions to promote good governance, use the peace process as part of its internal security program, and launch a holistic program to combat terrorism.¹²² The policy by the government of Philippines is an advantage for the United States since it creates a platform to build partnerships with neighboring nations such as China. These policies by the Philippines are in line with the U.S. effort of ensuring collaboration with allied nations in the Asia-Pacific region.

China

A U.S. FDNF would be a disadvantage for China with respect to strengthening relations for the following reasons. With the U.S. effort of building partnerships with countries in the SCS, a disadvantage may arise due to China's view of U.S. involvement

¹²¹ Thomas Lum and Larry Nicksch, *The Republic of the Philippines: Background and U.S. Relations* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, January 15, 2009), 14.

¹²² President of the Philippines, 2011-2016, *National Security Policy*, 24-28.

in the region. Another disadvantage for the United States is present by China perceiving U.S. activity as a challenge to China's defensive posture. An additional problem for the United States is the risk that China may seek an alliance with Russia to gain international support for its endeavors in the SCS. To date, the PLAN has been participating in naval exercises with the Russian Navy to define each country's naval role in an event of an armed conflict in the region.¹²³

Risk Analysis

Establishing a FDNF in the Philippines presents an advantage for the United States, but also presents a disadvantage in the event that China sees the U.S. FDNF as a threat to its territorial claim in the SCS. With China's rapid military modernization and lack of openness with Chinese intentions, it is important that the United States continue to pursue a partnership based on a common maritime cooperation.¹²⁴ With a common maritime cooperation, the intent would be a partnership between the United States and China that eliminates any tension that may arise due to the disputed territorial claims in the SCS.

¹²³ IHS, "Increased Cooperation with Russia," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment-China and Northeast Asia*, article 17 (September 30, 2015): 22.

¹²⁴ Secretary of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review*, 4.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

The purpose of this research study is to find out what are the advantages and disadvantages for the United States in establishing a FDNF in the Republic of the Philippines and what are the advantages and disadvantages for the United States, Republic of the Philippines and China with establishment of a U.S. FDNF in the Philippines. This study assumes that the United States will continue its engagement with strengthening its partnership with the Philippines and providing security and stability in the SCS. The analysis points out that establishing a U.S. FDNF in the Philippines presents an advantage for the United States. The outcome supports the U.S. enduring goals of creating secure economic ties with nations in the Asia-Pacific region. Below is a list of key highlights on the advantages and possible disadvantage for the United States, Republic of the Philippines and China with establishment of a U.S. FDNF in the Philippines.

Advantages and Disadvantages

The U.S. role is to maintain FON to enable free movement and maintain economic security in the region. With basing of a FDNF in the Republic of the Philippines, the United States will have the advantage of transforming the current presence postures in the region and improving U.S. performance concerning fundamental security objectives. Part of the security goals in the SCS is the ability for commercial vessels to transit the area for commerce. Additionally, a U.S. FDNF would be an

advantage for the Philippines as both the Philippines and United States share the same security goals in the SCS. However, a U.S. FDNF would be a disadvantage for China since it creates tension and does not support China's territorial expansion. Furthermore, the Department of Defense will serve as the functioning force to execute security objectives such as deterrence, assurance of friends and allies, provision of timely crisis response capability, regional stability, and security conditions that promote freedom and prosperity.

The strategic goal of the United States in the Asia-Pacific region is to promote peace and stability, specifically focusing on establishing a partnership with China. The United States has made efforts to build a working relationship with the PLAN in an attempt to create a joint military goal in the region. A partnership with China will be an advantage for the United States because it leads to improved military relations with a common maritime goal such as counter-piracy, peacekeeping, and humanitarian assistance and disaster relief.

The exercising of UNCLOS rules is an advantage for the United States as it tries to use the current law of the sea to maintain peace, justice, and progress. This is an advantage for the United States because exercising UNCLOS establishes an understanding that nations will keep clear of territorial seas while conducting transits and abiding with agreed EEZ transit parameters. The risk with exercising UNCLOS at this stage may present a disadvantage due to the current unresolved territorial disputes in the SCS. However, the United States has stated that it will see a non-escalatory means of resolving territorial disputes with China. This non-escalatory policy is a disadvantage to

the United States as China continues to expand and change the contours of the islands in the SCS.

The United States will gain the advantage with its efforts of maintaining partnership with the Republic of the Philippines. With both countries' MDT obligation, an advantage will be the increase in efficiency due to the collaboration and creation of an improved information gathering function associated with an infrastructure housing a C4ISR capability.

A disadvantage of having an FDNF in the Republic of the Philippines will be the shorter lifespan of naval assets such as ships, aircraft, and support equipment. The constant presence of a naval force will be an advantage by increasing operating tempo but will decrease maintenance required to maintain the lifespan of naval platforms. However, the U.S. Navy with an FDNF in the Philippines can respond within thirty days and eliminate the transit time required for forces deploying from the Seventh Fleet located in Yokosuka, Japan and ships from CONUS.

An indirect advantage of basing an FDNF in the Philippines will be a reduction in deployment time for service members stationed in CONUS. The additional time gained by service members may promote a stable environment and improve conditions for the service member and their families.

By establishing a FDNF in the Philippines, tensions may force China to take other actions to counter the U.S. presence in the Philippines. This is a disadvantage because China's action will destabilize the region and create tension between the key states: the United States, Philippines, and China.

Recommendations

To establish an advantage for the United States in the SCS, the United States must continue to expand its role as an ally with the Republic of the Philippines. The United States in establishing an FDNF in the Philippines will gain the following advantages:

1. Expand the role of FDNF to assist the armed forces of the Philippines in creating a capable naval force with the ability to conduct naval operations within the Philippine region. This recommendation is based on the analysis reflected in table 9 under resolving regional conflict because, the Philippine naval force current role is to support land forces and will be unable to assist U.S. naval forces.
2. Provide a U.S. and Philippine military approach to an evolving Asia-Pacific security environment by creating a naval defensive force posture and doctrine. This approach would provide the United States with a flexible naval force that would be able to conduct defensive operation in the event of hostilities. This recommendation is based on suggestions from the report, *Conflict and Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region a Strategic Net Assessment*, found in chapter 2.
3. With sequestration influencing the U.S. defense budget, a recommendation is to invest in naval assets that provide multi-role missions. Having naval assets employed in an FDNF role will meet defense budget needs and attain the desired strategic goals that as listed in the 2014 QDR.

Further Research

Further research is recommended in the areas of future naval assets, maritime technology and environmental impact of a FDNF base, roles of an FDNF in other SCS countries and future reaction by China with an FDNF in the Philippines.

1. The first suggestion deals with the development of naval assets with a mindset of an expanded multi-role mission. The question would ask; what type of naval assets would meet the mission requirements in the SCS? The focus of this question would find future naval assets that will be capable of operating in a changing environment with features that would make known navigational aids such as maps and global positioning systems obsolete. Having naval assets that are self-reliant with an improved navigation system would be beneficial by safely operating in a changing environment. Furthermore, naval assets have to be capable of conducting FON and provide SLOC.
2. The second suggestion would be to answer the question; what maritime technology would be essential in operating in the SCS? The focus of this question would be how maritime technology can influence the tactical or strategic plans of nations operating in the SCS. Having an advance maritime technology would ensure the United States could maintain naval power in the region and prevent any escalation or use of force.
3. The third suggestion would be to answer the question; what is the impact to the environment by basing a FDNF in country? The focus of this question has to be an analysis on the status of the ecological environment involved to

include the risk if a contamination would occur due to an unexpected contamination from a naval vessel.

4. The fourth suggestion would be to study the possible Chinese reaction to a U.S. FDNF based in the Philippines. It would be beneficial for the United States to conduct research for possible decisions by China. The ongoing disputes in the SCS require continued attention by the United States in order to maintain a military presence in the region.

Summary

Forward deployed naval assets will increase the naval capability of the United States by creating a maritime force capable of responding to threats or crisis in a region. With an FDNF in the Philippines, the United States would be in a strategic advantage by having ease of access to the SCS, while meeting treaty obligations with the Republic of the Philippines. The advantage of having an FDNF in the Philippines would secure economic ties with the Philippines along with other nations in the Asia-Pacific region. Maintaining these ties in the Asia-Pacific region is important to the United States as it relies on other economic markets to maintain U.S. economic security.

GLOSSARY

Asia Pacific. “Asia Pacific is defined as those countries and areas of Asia and the Pacific that lie substantially between the longitudes of 30 degrees east and 170 degrees west, being the region that stretches from Egypt in the west, to the Cook Islands in the east, and from Russia in the north, to New Zealand in the south. The region covers an area from Mongolia in the north to New Zealand in the south, and from Central Asia and the Islamic Republic of Iran in the west to Kiribati in the East.”¹²⁵

Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ). “An area beyond and adjacent to the territorial sea, subject to the specific legal regime established in this Part, under which the rights and jurisdiction of the coastal State and the rights and freedoms of other States are governed by the relevant provisions of this Convention.”¹²⁶

Partner Nation. A nation that the United States works with in a specific situation or operation.¹²⁷

South China Sea (SCS). The SCS is the body of water that is between the countries of the Philippines and China.

Territorial Seas. “The coasts of two States are opposite or adjacent to each other, neither of the two States is entailed, failing agreement between them to the contrary, to extend its territorial sea beyond the median line every point of which is equidistant from the nearest point on the baseline from which the breadth of the territorial seas of each of the two States is measured.”¹²⁸

U.S. Allies. The U.S. allies in the Asian-Pacific are Japan, South Korea, Australia, Philippines, and Thailand.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Asia Pacific Screen Academy, “Asia Pacific Screen Awards definition of the Asia Pacific Region,” accessed June 19, 2016, <http://www.asiapacificscreenacademy.com/wp/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/AP-REGION.pdf>.

¹²⁶ Secretary-General, United Nations, *United Nations Convention on the Law of the Seas*, 43.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 67.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹²⁹ U.S. President, *National Security Strategy*, 2015, 7.

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